THE AGES OF THE WORLD AND THE AGES OF MAN: IRISH AND EUROPEAN LEARNING IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY[1]

Michael Clarke, National University of Ireland, Galway (michael.clarke@nuigalway.ie)

and

Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, University of Cambridge (mnm21@cam.ac.uk)

In the grand narrative of renewal and creativity in the Europe of the 'long twelfth century',[2] it has been easy to assume that Ireland was marginal and backward-looking, with the energy of its thinkers and writers concentrated on preserving and continuing the cultural forms of the national past. In recent scholarship, however, it has become clear that Irish intellectual life in this period was much closer to the European mainstream than was once believed. This article presents a case study in this area, concerned with the schematisation of historical time and the course of human life in parallel systems of six ages. Two examples of Irish text-production from the early twelfth century – an extended marginal gloss of some theological subtlety, and a complex heroic image in a narrative eulogy – will be compared with parallel manifestations in three sources from the heart of mainstream European creativity in the period: an encyclopaedic compilation of history and theology, a sequence of newly-composed hymns for the Divine Office, and the iconographic programme of stained-glass windows in a newly rebuilt cathedral.[3] The parallels will underline the fact that, despite the obvious differences in outer form, the modes of learned creativity reflected in Irish manuscript culture were closely aligned with international trends across Europe in the same period. To set this material in context, we preface our discussion with some general remarks on medieval Irish writing, before proceeding to the details of the chosen examples.

MEDIEVAL IRISH NARRATIVE: CONTEXT AND CONTACTS

Medieval Ireland boasts a rich and varied textual corpus both in Latin and the vernacular. Latin literacy acquired through Christianity was adapted and applied to Old Irish, the term applied to the language written c. 600 – c. 900 CE.[4] The use of the vernacular as a written medium at this early date makes Ireland an unusual case, and in a western European context only Anglo-Saxon England bears comparison for the scale and ambition of the vernacular project. From these beginnings, on both sides of the Irish Sea a further shift towards composition in both English and Irish is perceptible in the ninth and tenth centuries. In the Old English context, this has been associated with the court culture of the reign of Alfred the Great;[5] the context for its development in Ireland appears more varied, but the evidence suggests that the bilingual learned culture of the monasteries was the setting for the emergence of the literary corpus in Old and later in Middle Irish, which embraced a wide range of genres from chronicles and hagiography to genealogy and law.[6]

Material from the earlier of these phases is only sparsely represented in early manuscripts preserved in Ireland itself. More manuscripts have survived because they became part of institutional libraries in continental Europe.[7] In such circumstances, not surprisingly, manuscripts in Latin predominate, though vernacular glosses and commentary, as well as more extended pieces of poetry and prose, are also found among their pages.[8] Texts written largely or entirely in the vernacular are preserved more extensively in manuscripts written in the Middle Irish period (c. 900 – 1200 CE). As well as drawing on earlier sources, Middle Irish authors also composed a wealth of material themselves, seeking to present a comprehensive, continuous account of the Irish and global past. Scriptoria located in and staffed from monasteries served ecclesiastical and secular elites alike, and bear witness to close co-operation between clergy and royalty in the upper echelons of what was a highly

stratified society.[9]

Our understanding of how the Irish learned classes composed texts and recounted past events has undergone a significant shift in scholarship of the last half century or so. The literature was long viewed as the late after-growth of an indigenous tradition with pre-Christian origins, overlaid only superficially by Latinate image and allusion; in more recent scholarship, however, the formative influence of the Latin culture within which all Old and Middle Irish writing took shape has been brought increasingly to the fore.[10] Elements of disparate origins, pre-Christian and oral, as well as Latinate and literary, are combined in these complex and sophisticated works in ways which are no longer easy to determine.[11] This fusion of Latin and vernacular traditions began in the seventh century or earlier, and was fostered and encouraged by subsequent contact with the Carolingian intellectual world.[12] Eleventh- and twelfth-century authors built on the literary work of their predecessors. They too profited from learned exchange with contemporaries in Britain and continental Europe, and evidence of such contact emerge from close examination of literary productions, as we will see below.[13]

While this view of the literature increasingly prevails in current scholarship, there remains a lingering sense that the literary life of the Irish language was essentially inward-looking, cut off from innovation and experiment in the European mainstream.[14] In particular, although the engagement of Irish scholars in Carolingian scholarship is generally acknowledged,[15] the extent to which their literary successors in the eleventh and twelfth centuries looked outwards while writing literature in the vernacular is not always appreciated. A case in point here is the genre dominated by narratives of *cath, caithréim* and *cogadh* ('battle', 'battle-surge', 'war'), of which one of the Irish texts we discuss below is an example. Tales of this type are prominent in the Middle Irish literary corpus and are typically characterised by overblown

descriptive techniques, bombastic rhetorical overlay, and an expansive verbal style.[16] As such they invited the negative judgements of earlier generations of scholars, who saw in them a decadent outgrowth of the inherited tradition: archaic heroic narrative gone to seed. The development of this style is in fact much more complex, as has been demonstrated by Uáitéar Mac Gearailt and Brent Miles.[17] First and foremost, it was linked to a growing trend towards composition of longer, more discursive texts.[18] Adaptation of Latin narratives, of which a remarkable number survive from eleventh- and twelfth-century Ireland, played a part in the development of a style characterised by an 'aesthetic of expansion',[19] but so too did the adaptation into written form of rhythmical patterns of speech.[20] Mac Gearailt brings both strands together when he suggests that the act of 'translation' may have alerted authors to the descriptive techniques offered by contemporary modes of oral storytelling.[21] Although this last argument is speculative, it is clear that this distinctive style flourished as a result of the continued productive co-existence of Latin and vernacular in scholarly spheres.

The evidence shows that such developments were further nourished by interaction and exchange with Latin book-culture both within Ireland and abroad. A few examples may be cited. In a series of articles Pádraig Ó Néill has shown that a manuscript with the Latin version of Plato's *Timaeus* and an up-to-date synthesis of cosmographical and computistical theory was compiled and glossed in Irish – almost certainly at Chartres – in the first half of the twelfth century.[22] In the same vein, he has demonstrated that the spectacular Florence manuscript of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*,[23] whose script and decoration are unmistakeably in the Irish tradition from the early twelfth century, carries an *accessus* and glossing apparatus which for scale and sophistication equal anything being produced elsewhere in Europe in this period, representing an original compilation made on the basis of a uniquely wide range of sources.[24] Likewise Elizabeth Boyle has shown that twelfth-century Irish scholars demonstrate a familiarity with contemporary Neoplatonic thought.[25] Equally

instructive is Elizabeth Duncan's demonstration that the hand of the main scribe of the earliest canonical manuscript of narrative literature in Old Irish, *Lebor na hUidre* (The Book of the Dun Cow), c. 1100, can be identified with that of a Latin manuscript of Boethius' *De re arithmetica*, which itself carries learned glosses.[26] This suggests that the scholar-scribes responsible for the transmission and (re)creation of the vernacular literature were much closer to the intellectual currents of international Latinity in their time than was formerly realised.

To exemplify this intense engagement of Irish learned authors with contemporary Latin scholarship, we will examine in tandem two pieces of evidence from this period which have not been studied together before, and which are united by the concept of a parallelism between the six ages of the history of the world (*aetates mundi*) and the six ages of human life (*aetates hominis*). One is a remarkable passage in the early twelfth-century narrative text *Cogadh Gáedhel re Gallaibh* (The War of the Irish against Foreigners [Vikings]), in which the martial excellence of the protagonist is linked to a series of legendary heroes in a sequence of human decline which explores and exploits the topos of 'the world grown old' in relation to the ageing of a human being.[27] The other is a marginal gloss inserted into the Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi* (The Six Ages of the World), a prose composition in Middle Irish which is itself distinct from (and far more complex than) the better-known works of that name by Bede and others.[28] Preserved in the second oldest of the principal manuscripts of vernacular Irish learning in this period (MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B502), the gloss expands on the scheme of the ages of the world by laying out in full the parallel scheme of the ages of man. Together, the two texts bear witness to an equation between *aetates mundi* and *aetates hominis* which, as we will see, is closely aligned with the way this theme was articulated in Continental and Anglo-Norman scholarship in the same period. If the argument carries conviction, it will provide further evidence for the close alignment of Irish *literati* with the

proponents of contemporary currents of image-making in the wider world, and will contribute to the wider discussion of how medieval Irish learning can be incorporated into the picture of transnational developments in European thought in the period.

The Six Ages in Theology and Historiography

The link between the 'ages of man' and the 'ages of the world' exemplified in the Irish texts and elsewhere provides our starting point; both themes belong together and gain meaning from the resonances between them.[29] Although the ultimate origin of this concept is unknown, its earliest known exposition is in the work of Augustine.[30] It underlies the exposition of world history and eschatology in *De Civitate Dei* (The City of God), where the parallelism between the life of man and of the world periodically reappears as a structuring device (see, for example, *De Civitate Dei* 16.43.58-77, 22.30.124-150);[31] but it is in the shorter works that Augustine sets it out in the concise summary form in which it entered the mainstream of subsequent tradition. In *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* (*DGCM*) Augustine gives the classic exposition on four co-ordinated levels: the six days of creation (and thus of the week), the six ages of sacred history, and the six ages of human life (*DGCM* 1.23 at *PL* 34, col. 191-3), which is summarized in the Appendix to this article. In this text the scheme is deployed polemically, because it implies that in the *seventh* age we will reach God's day of rest, the Sunday of the world's week, and the consummation of things after the end of the worldly *saeculum* (*DGCM* 1.22 at *PL* 34, col. 189-190).[32] However, other Augustinian treatments suggest that already it had an independent role as a system of historical exposition. In the *Tractates* on St John's Gospel, it is the basis for his exposition of the miracle of Cana. The six jars of water are the six ages of history, in which the coming of the Saviour was prophesied without true understanding; holding only water they would be *quasi vasa inania*, 'as if empty vessels', were they not filled with wine by Christ, whose Incarnation fulfils and completes what had been foretold (*Tractate* 9.6-7). In this text the six ages of

history are treated as something already familiar to the audience of the work: *ut saepe audistis et nostis* (9.6.4), 'as you have often heard and learnt'.[33] For Augustine, then, the six-age scheme stands in its own right as a system for ordering the understanding of time.

Many of the Augustinian parallelisms depend on metaphorical connections. In particular, the analogy between the Sixth Age of the world and the old age of man relates closely to the rhetorical topos of *senectus mundi*, 'the world grown old'. This *topos* is evoked by Augustine himself in *Sermon* 83, when he expands on the idea of the 'weakening world', *deficiens mundus*:

Miraris quia deficit mundus? mirare quia senuit mundus. Homo est, nascitur, crescit, senescit. Querelae multae in senecta: tussis, pituita, lippitudo, anxietudo, lassitudo inest. Ergo senuit homo; querelis plenus est: senuit mundus; pressuris plenus est. Parum tibi praestitit Deus, quia in senectute mundi misit tibi Christum, ut tunc te reficiat, quando cuncta deficiunt?[34]

'Do you wonder that the world is growing weak? Wonder rather that the world has grown old. It is a human being: it is born, it grows up, it grows old. There are many complaints in old age: cough, rheum, bleariness, worry, weakness. So a man has grown old, he is full of complaints; so the world has grown old, it is full of troubles. Is it a small thing that God has offered you, that in the world's old age he has sent you Christ, so that he can restore you when all things are growing weak?'

This conception developed an independent life of its own in the subsequent evolution of medieval thought. In Isidore of Seville's *De Natura Rerum*, it is expressed in a different way in the diagrammatic exposition of *mundus, annus, homo* in a system of interlocking arcs and

circles, which became normative for medieval scientific exposition.[35] However, Isidore himself in his major works does not articulate the parallelism between ages of man and of the world. In his *Chronicle*, the six ages give structure to the exposition of world history but there is no hint of a correspondence with the life of man. In the *Etymologies*, similarly, he treats the *aetates hominis* (11.2.1-8) separately from those of the world (5.38), although he notes in passing that the term *aetas* can be applied to either (5.38.5). For the tradition as it developed in subsequent centuries, the key articulation seems to have been that of Bede.[36] In the *De Temporum Ratione*, Bede sets out the full Augustinian scheme with the correlation between ages of the world, ages of man, and days of creation:[37] and it is significant that he prefaces his exposition with the observation that he will be setting out the comparison with the life of the human being *qui microcosmos Graece a philosophis, hoc est, minor mundus solet nuncupari* 'who is customarily called in Greek by the philosophers *microcosmos*, that is a smaller world' (*DTR* 66.2). The Fourth Age here is begun with the accession of David to kingship, and the age as a whole is marked by the beginning of *regum tempora*, the times of the kings (of the Hebrews), because it is from the age of youthful manhood (*iuvenali aetate*) that a man is capable of kingship. Bede's sense of the correspondences becomes steadily more vivid with the ages that mark decline and old age:

Quinta quasi senilis aetas a transmigratione Babylonis usque in adventum Domini salvatoris in carnem...In qua, ut gravi senectute fessa, malis crebrioribus plebs Hebraea quassatur. Sexta, que nunc agitur, aetas, nulla generationum vel temporum serie certa, sed ut aetas decrepita ipsa totius saeculi morte consumenda.[38]

'The Fifth Age, as it were old age, [is] from the transmigration to Babylon up to the coming of the Lord and Saviour into the flesh ... in which, as if weary with heavy old age, the Hebrew people is shaken by more numerous evils. The Sixth Age, which is now being

carried on, has no fixed sequence of generations or times, but as befits decrepit age [it is] about to be consumed in the death of the entire world.'

In his commentary on St John's Gospel, Bede reprises Augustine's identification of the six jars at Cana with the six ages of the world, but without drawing an explicit link with the ages of man;[39] and in subsequent reception, the dominant tradition was that derived from the *De temporum ratione*. Bede's formulation is repeated almost verbatim by Hrabanus Maurus,[40] and the place of the scheme in the common curriculum of the Carolingian period is well illustrated by the summary account in Alcuin's *Disputatio Puerorum*,[41] where it appears in a fictive colloquy between students, correlating the *aetates mundi* with the *aetates mundi minoris*, that is of man.[42] From there, as we will see in more detail below, the scheme became part of the common culture.

THE IRISH EVIDENCE: *SEX AETATES MUNDI*

In the case of Ireland, it seems likely that the enduring importance of computus in Irish scholarship and education[43] had a formative influence on the development of an especially sophisticated version of syncretistic historiography, based on systematic correlations between events in Irish history (and mythological pseudo-history) and contemporaneous events in the histories of the great nations of the Classical and Biblical world, a science that flourished in both prose and verse in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in particular.[44] It is no accident that one of the most influential works of world historiography produced anywhere in the West in this period was the work of Marianus Scottus, an Irish anchorite (*inclusus*) at Mainz in the second half of the eleventh century.[45] His formative years were spent in monasteries in the north of Ireland, whence he left for the Continent in 1056 when he was already in his late twenties. From this same context come the earliest extant codices of Old and Middle Irish, compendia of historical and pseudo-historical writings.[46]

In one of these, the manuscript known by its shelf mark in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, Rawlinson B502, dated to the second quarter of the twelfth century,[47] is preserved the earliest surviving complete copy of the Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*. This compilation of historical and genealogical lore about the creation and early history of mankind is based on Jerome, Orosius, Isidore and other Latin authorities and was probably composed (or at least given its final form) in the late eleventh century.[48] This is the *floruit* of Dublittir Ua hUathgaile, who is named in the text as the author of some or all of its prose and of the extensive chronological poem that ends the tract.[49] The text recounts biblical and para-biblical history in a structure closely following the scheme of six ages as set out by Augustine, Isidore and Bede. The exposition of the six ages of history is marked by a large decorated initial in the characteristic style of high-status Irish manuscripts in the period.[50] It begins as follows:

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

Figure 1 MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B502, fol. 41 r (a), detail

§4 *SEX AETATES SUNT MUNDI, id est* ó Ádam co dílinn in chétna-aés. Ó dílinn co Abrám ind aés tánaisi. Ó Abrám co Dauíd in tres aés. Ó Dauíd co brait mBabilóne in chethramad aés. Ó brait co Críst in chóiced aés. Ó Críst co bráth int [s]essed aés.

'*THERE ARE SIX AGES OF THE WORLD*, i.e. from Adam to the Deluge (is) the First Age; from the Deluge to Abraham (is) the Second Age; from Abraham to David (is) the Third Age; from David to the Babylonian captivity (is) the Fourth Age; from the captivity to Christ (is) the Fifth Age; from Christ to the Judgement (is) the Sixth Age.'

In the upper margin the following can be read, in a hand indistinguishable from that of the main scribe:[51]

Prima aetas hominis infantia, in septem annis finitur. Secunda pueritia, usque ad quartum decimum annum. Tertia adolescentia, usque ad viginti octo annos. Quarta iuventus, usque ad quinquagesimum annum. Quinta senio, a quinquagesimo usque ad septuagesimum annum. Sexta senectus, quae nullo annorum tempore finitur. Senium vero pars ultima senectutis.

'The First Age of Man is infancy, which is completed in seven years. The Second Age is youth, which extends to the fourteenth year. The Third is adolescence, up to age twenty-eight. The Fourth is young manhood, up to the fiftieth year. The Fifth is middle-age, from age fifty to age seventy. The Sixth is old age, which has no set length. Senility, indeed, is the final stage of old age.'

As Ó Cróinín has noted, the wording here is close to that of Isidore in the section on the ages of man in the *Etymologies*;[52] but, given the excerpting and remodelling of Isidore's words that is repeated in every phase of the tradition, it shows equally close affinities with the wording of Hrabanus Maurus and, indeed, of Alcuin's schoolboy colloquy (*Disputatio puerorum*). The crucial issue for us is not the identity of the immediate source but the fact that whoever composed the marginal note was fully aware of the principle that the ages of man and of the world are to be set up in parallel with each other according to the traditional exposition.

How did this marginal addition originate? It is not found in any other manuscript of *Sex Aetates Mundi*, so it is presumably the work of the compiler of Rawlinson B502 itself – or, at

the very least, the work of a close successor in the same period. In this copy of *Sex Aetates Mundi* there are in all four such marginal insertions,[53] and in each case the hand is indistinguishable from that of the main text; none of them are attested in any other manuscripts of *Sex Aetates Mundi* except late copies derived from this one.[54] One of these notes, adjacent to tabular and versified lists of the names of Adam's children, gives in Latin the information that the number of Adam's sons equals that of the Sundays of the year, while the number of his daughters is that of the languages (seventy-two).[55] The remaining two occur on a single folio (fol. 44r) and are linked in theme. Alongside a table of the names of Jesus' disciples (who again number seventy-two), there is a note in the right margin which begins in Latin, listing the ten persecutions of the Christians – the first under Nero, the second under Domitian, and so on – and then switches to Irish:

Hi flathius in deichnebuir seo trá do-chuatar bás martra apstail 7 deiscipuil 7 martírig Íhesu Críst ar Dia fo tríb rannaib in talman.

'In the reigns of these ten, then, the Apostles and Disciples and Martyrs of Jesus Christ suffered martyrdom for God in the three parts of the world.' [56]

This of course explains why the list of persecuting emperors is relevant to that of the apostles' names; our final annotation, in the upper margin, extends this further by giving in Irish the story of Sarophanes, the maker of the first pagan idol.[57] The movement is from the disciples to their martyrdoms, thus to the idolaters who martyred them, and finally to the origins of idolatry itself.

Putting these marginal additions together, a consistent picture emerges. We are dealing with the theological knowledge of a learned scholar-author (*fer léginn*)[58] sometime in the second

quarter of the twelfth century. This scholar writes both in Latin and in Irish, and switches between the two in the characteristic manner of Irish monastic literati in this and earlier periods; he is evidently particularly interested in the systematisation of chronological and other lore on the basis of significant numbers. It is in this thematic context, plainly, that he has thought it worthwhile to set down the details of the parallelism between the ages of the world and those of man.

On its own, however, the evidence of the *Sex Aetates Mundi* gloss is inconclusive. It could have been used to argue that the Irish of the twelfth century inherited and remodelled learned readings of Bede, Isidore and even Augustine that *anticipated* the innovations of the twelfth-century renaissance, not necessarily that they were actively engaging with the creative thinking of their contemporaries in the European mainstream. We now turn to another passage written in the same generation of Irish scholarly creativity, in which the underlying theme is the same but the evidence points more decisively towards contemporary European learning.

THE IRISH EVIDENCE: *COGADH GÁEDHEL RE GALLAIBH*

It is easy to imagine how the fragment of learned Latinity examined above might form part of the raw materials for an historiographically-minded scholar creating an extended narrative. As such, it bears comparison with a passage of highly-wrought prose in the heroic text *Cogadh Gáedhel re Gallaibh* (The War of the Irish against Foreigners), whose original composition is dated to the opening decades of the twelfth century.[59] The *Cogadh* is a highly-wrought, eulogistic biography of Brian Boru (Brían Bórama), the king of Munster celebrated for his role in the internecine struggles of his time in the narrative, in which he is presented in part as a national hero triumphant against Vikings. Brian's death at the battle of Clontarf in 1014 is the climax of the action; being over seventy years of age at the time, however, he is

not depicted as participating in the fighting, and the role of principal military commander belongs to his son Murchad. The section with which we are concerned forms part of the description of this final battle, and its purpose is to extol Murchad's warlike greatness, which goes above and beyond that of his fellow warriors and looks back to the heroic past of Ireland and the world.[60]

The passage begins with an image of Murchad on the battlefield at Clontarf, sword in each hand, preserving excellences that others can no longer match: he is the last man in Ireland with equal dexterity in both right hand and left, the last man who can kill a hundred at once, and so on.[61] This is the end of a long progression, 'the last step that true valour took in Ireland',[62] and Murchad's heroism is correlated with that of Hector, the champion (and king's son) of ancient Troy in the war against the Greek invaders.[63] The author expresses this as a co-ordinated sequence stretching between the Trojan War and the Ireland of Murchad's own time. Hector is the first in a line of six famous warriors, in which between him and Murchad there are four heroes celebrated elsewhere in medieval Irish lore: Lug(aid) Lámfhata, Conall Cernach, Lug Lága, and Mac Samáin. As one plots the sequence forward across time, each hero is seven times *less* valorous than his successor. Thus, claims the *Cogadh* author, seven men of Murchad's stature would be the equivalent of the hero directly above him, Mac Samáin, and so on up the heroic line as far as Hector himself.[64]

Within the list, a subtle precision can be detected. Corroborating evidence suggests that the six named heroes have been arranged in strict historical sequence in relation to each other. Within the medieval Irish intellectual project sketched earlier in this article, a key concern was the construction of a continuous year-by-year sequence of names, dates and events in which the (pseudo)history of the pre-Christian past of Ireland was co-ordinated systematically with corresponding events in the history of the central nations of the world,

including Greeks, Romans and Hebrews. The chroniclers effectively added a further column to the correlated tabulations of national histories and regnal years fixed in the Chronicle of Eusebius-Jerome and recast by Isidore and Bede.[65] In the opening sections of many of the annalistic compilations – a genre which took shape most fully in the eleventh century – pre-Christian events and individuals are systematically synchronised with those of world history.[66] From chronicles and other sources we see that the death of Conall Cernach, one of the heroes of the Ulaid (Ulster) who feature in a cycle of sagas, was located close to that of Christ[67] – in other words, at the very beginning of the Sixth Age. Lug Lága, the next hero in the *Cogadh* list, belongs some two hundred years later along the timeline, as he is recorded as having fought in the battle of Mag Mucrama and died alongside King Art mac Cuinn.[68] The next hero in descending order, Mac Samáin, comes one generation later: the evidence here is indirect but unambiguous, as the sources link Mac Samáin with the celebrated warrior Finn mac Cumaill,[69] who was said to have been active during the reign of Cormac mac Airt, son of Art mac Cuinn, corresponding to the third century CE.[70] Thus the four are arranged in sequence within the Sixth Age of the world.

Correspondingly, the two predecessors in the sequence belong further back in the ages of the world: Hector and Lugaid Lámfhata. Lugaid (more usually Lug) is one of the protagonists in the crucial battle-narrative of Ireland's mythological history, *Cath Maige Tuired* (The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired), an Old Irish text whose surviving version is an eleventh-century recension with mythographic additions.[71] He belongs among the race of pre-Christian inhabitants of Ireland, the Túatha Dé Danann (usually understood as euhemerised deities), whom he led to victory in an encounter against the sinister Fomoiri, with whom he was connected through his maternal kin.[72] Not only in the chronicles but even within the text of *Cath Maige Tuired*, it is specified that this battle was contemporaneous with the Trojan War,[73] which is uniformly located in the Third Age in all relevant sources. [74]

Thus, Lugaid Lámfhata is the natural choice as the champion closest in time and skill to Hector: the battle in which he triumphed is the equivalent of the Trojan conflict, both chronologically and in importance for Ireland's history. His presence in the list anchors the heroism of Murchad with the ultimate roots of Irish traditions of martial valour, and the further link to Hector relates these traditions to the origins of European heroic ideals in the world of Graeco-Roman epic.

Implicitly, then, there is a contrast between the lesser heroes of the Sixth Age, from Conall Cernach to Murchad, and their mightier predecessors in the Third Age. The sense of continuous *decline* through this sequence of heroes is taken up and developed in the next sentence:[75]

Ocus conid iat sin uideda ocus imthechta in phrīmghaiscid ō thús in domain. Ocus gunach beith in prīmgaisced reim Hechtor, uair naīdiu é conici sin ocus nír inengnuma é ro hōcci. Ocus conā beith iar Murchad, uair senōir crithach, crīndīblidi é ō [s]hin amach. Ocus cosmaillius aīsi duneta tomtenaigit amlaid sin don gaisced ocus don domun ar n-intamlugud intliuchta.

'So these are the measurements and progressions of pre-eminent heroism from the beginning of the world. There was no pre-eminent heroism before Hector, for it [the world] was a child up to then and it was not capable of prowess because of its youth. And there has not been since Murchad, for it has been a decrepit, decaying elder since that time. And in this way, heroism and the world were deemed to be the analogy (*cosmaillius*) of human life, according to comparison of meaning (*intamlugud intliuchta*).'

The gradually decreasing valour of the heroes signifies the declining vitality of the human race as a whole. Here, clearly, we have a meta-literary comment on the significance of the conceit that has just been articulated, and this gives an unusually close sense of the interpretative strategies known to the author, a point to which we return below.

Significantly, the image of the heroes as men of the world's youth resonates closely with one in another text of similar generic affiliations, *Togail Troí*, the Middle Irish account of the Trojan War.[76] As Leslie Diane Myrick has noted,[77] the *Cogadh* image is mirrored by one which occurs at the point in *Togail Troí* when the Greek fleet arrives for war at the shores of Troy, a climactic scene that will be reported to Priam by a messenger in a series of riddling and poetic images. The arrival of the fleet takes on cosmic proportions, and the earth almost trembles: it was natural that this should happen, states the narrator, because those who were arriving were the *rind n-imgona* 'pinnacle of conflict', and the *forglu síl Ádham ule* 'choice part of the whole seed of Adam'.[78] The world, he claims, was then at its peak of violence and warlike energy:

... fobíth is and robái in domon im-medon a áese 7 a borrfaid, a utmaille 7 a díumais, a chath 7 a chongal.

'For it is then that the world was in the middle of its age and its swelling, its restlessness and its arrogance, its battling and conflicts.'[79]

The vocabulary of this passage explicitly matches this moment in the world's history to the aggression and ebullience of young manhood, the time when the qualities of the warrior are at their height. Parallels are numerous between images in *Togail Troí* and *Cogadh Gáedhel re Gallaibh*, and it is unproblematic that the author of the *Cogadh* (or indeed a later twelfth-

century reviser) should have been drawing on the Troy text.[80] Did he take his cue from the hint offered by the Troy saga and develop it into an explicit and elaborate conceit?

The precise relationship between the two passages must remain uncertain. What is clear, however, is that when taken together, the two passages from thematically related texts present a model of the history of the world in which its development is explicitly mapped onto that of a human being: the age of the war of Troy was the warlike youth of the human race, hence that quality was at its height in the manhood of the time. In the scheme familiar from Isidore and recorded in the marginal note in the Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*, the Third Age of man is *adolescentia*, the state of youthfulness that comes after boyhood and lasts until the late twenties, preceding the mature age when a man is fit to take up kingship: in other words, *adolescentia* is the age of the warrior. Our own time, the Sixth Age, in contrast, is the elderly time of the human race. This knowledge equally informs the passage cited above from *Togail Troí*, where the men of the Trojan war belong to the most violent stage of the development of the human race. As the epitome of the ebullient valour of that age, Hector represents the acme of heroic manhood in battle, the phase that comes after childhood but also, implicitly, before the age when a man is fit to take up the wisdom of kingship as David does in the symbolism of the Fourth Age.

It is possible that the image of the mathematical progression from Hector via the other heroes to Murchad, implying (if taken literally) that he possesses a 1/16807 part of Hector, is an indication that his valour is more contained, more measured, than the wildly ebullient heroes of the Third Age. As the eulogy continues, however, Murchad is more directly equated with the same illustrious forebears:[81]

Rob ē sin int Echtoir intamlaigthech na hĒrend ilbuadaigi ar credium[82] ocus ar gail ocus ar gaisced, ar eneach ocus ar engnum. Rob ē sin in Samson suairc, sochomaind, sēg(d)aind sōerbēsach na nEbraidi im sochur ocus im saīri a atharda ocus a cheneōil[83] re rē fēn ocus re amsir. Rob ē sin int E[r]coil tothachtach tānasi ro scris ocus ro dēlāris[84] piasta ocus torathru a hĒrind, ro sir lacha ocus linti ocus uamanna na Fōtla fondardi ar nach rabi dūn nó digenn isin domun. Rob ē in Lug Lāmata comchosmail ro ling cach dochair ocus ro lomair cach trénchend, ro scris ocus ro marb gullu ocus allmarthu a hĒrind. Ocus rob ē in comla catha ocus in cliath ugra[85] ocus in dos dīten ocus in tor brūti bidbad a atharda ocus a cheneōil re rē fēn ocus re remis.

'He was the metaphorical (*intamlaigthech*) Hector of ever-victorious Ireland, in religion, in valour and in warlike feats, in dignity and dexterity. He was the agreeable, affable, intelligent, accomplished Samson of the Hebrews, for promoting the privileges and prosperity of his patrimony and kin, during his own career and time. He was the second substantial Hercules, who destroyed and drove serpents and monsters out of Ireland; who traversed the lakes and pools and caves of the noble Emerald Isle, whom no fortress or fastness in the world could resist. He was the equivalent of Lug Lámfata, who surmounted every obstacle and cut off every powerful head, and exterminated and expelled foreigners and enemies from Ireland. And he was the shelter against strife, the bulwark against battle, as well as the defending tree and the fortress for the destruction of the foes of his patrimony and kin during his own career and period.'

Hector and Lugaid are now joined by Samson of the Hebrews and Hercules of the Greeks, who also belong in the Third Age.[86] In this passage a more obvious thematic parallelism is articulated, because all three figures are renowned for their defence of their people against invading foreign enemies: Samson against the Philistines, Hector against the Greeks, Lug

against the Fomoiri. As noted above, Lug's victory over these monstrous enemies is central to *Cath Maige Tuired*,[87] and it may be significant here that the depiction of the Fomoiri in that text is made purposefully to recall Vikings, an obvious threat in the ninth-century milieu in which *Cath Maige Tuired* was first composed and of continuing relevance in the eleventh century when the tale was reworked.[88] Since Norsemen were prominent in the coalition ranged against Murchad and his father, Brian Boru, at the battle of Clontarf, the *Cogadh* author may be alluding to the association between Fomoiri and Vikings in a version of *Cath Maige Tuired* itself.

It is worth noting that the details of the textual transmission enable us to establish the compositional relationship between these two passages with unusual precision. Comparing the two manuscript witnesses to this part of the *Cogadh*, the explicatory passage on the decrepitude of the ageing world is found only in the fourteenth-century manuscript H,[89] and is lacking in the seventeenth-century manuscript B.[90] Other sections unique to H indicate that its narrative had been rewritten in the middle years of the twelfth century in the service of a specific geographical and political bias;[91] and although the present passage seems incidental at best to that persuasive project, it is reasonable to associate it with the same campaign of revision – an analysis corroborated linguistically by the presence of the verb-form *tomtenaigit* (past passive, 3rd person plural), characteristic of a brief phase in the development of late Middle Irish.[92] This makes it highly likely that the explication was added when the text was reworked in the middle of the twelfth century. On the other hand, both manuscripts have the sequences of comparisons of Murchad to ancient heroes, and this indicates that these should be assigned to the original composition of the *Cogadh* in the earlier twelfth century. Thus, we may proceed on the assumption that the original, early twelfth-century author framed the two sets of complex images relating Murchad to the ancient heroes, and coined the phrase 'the metaphorical (*intamlaigthech*) Hector of Ireland'.

A further author-redactor, rather later in the twelfth century, added the image of the modern world as a decrepit old man, starting from cues already present in his exemplar and influenced by the already familiar *topos* of 'the world grown old'. This is independently alluded to (for example) in the late eleventh-century chronicle known as the first fragment of the "Annals of Tigernach", where the beginning of the Sixth Age is marked by Bede's phrase *ut aetas decrepita ipsa totius saeculi morte consumenda* from the passage cited above.[93]

Intamlugud Intliuchta: the Figure of Thought

Running through these passages is a cluster of technical terms from the science of linguistic and rhetorical interpretation. *Cosmailius* 'likeness, similarity, analogy', and *tomtenaigit* from the verb *toimtnigid* 'supposes, deems', belong on this high register. Still more remarkable is the phrase *intamlugud intliuchta*, which we have rendered above as 'comparison of meaning' when applied to the systematic comparison between the ageing of the world and of man; it is further linked to the phrase *int Echtoir intamlaigthech* – 'the metaphorical Hector, the one comparable with Hector'.[94] Some of these terms go back to the register of the Old Irish glosses, which are largely concerned with linguistic interpretation and theory, and allow us to see the development of a bilingual critical vocabulary among Irish scholars from as early as the eighth century onward.[95] *Cosmailius* in this corpus is frequently equated with *similitudo*, 'comparison':[96] it is transparently the abstract noun from *cosmail* 'like, similar', just as *similitudo* comes from *similis*. *Toimtiu* 'act of thinking, opinion', the verbal noun of the verb *toimtnigid* (earlier *do-moinethar*), is also associated with the same Latin term.[97]

The phrase *intamlugud intliuchta* repays more extended consideration. The parent noun, *intamail*, which is attested earlier in the history of the language, is used to gloss *emulatio* and occurs also in the specific sense of 'simile' (in combination with *cosmailius*): thus in the Old Irish glosses we find *intamlai ocus chosmailsea* 'similes and comparisons'.[98] *Intamlugud*, then, is

'act of imitating, comparing' in our passage of the *Cogadh.* Here, however, it functions in a more complex collocation, being qualified by the equally precise term *intliucht.* This latter word is ultimately derived from Latin *intellectus* but has a specific meaning of its own: in a recent study of linguistic terminology in the Milan and St Gall glosses, Pierre-Yves Lambert defines it as the term for 'meaning' in a referential, conceptual sense: 'the meaning of a full thought, a full sentence'.[99] Individually, these terms belong to the stock of critical terminology that had been current among Irish scholar-authors for many generations. However, the two in combination imply a concept more typical of twelfth-century European thought. To identify the image as a 'comparison of meaning' is to classify it as a particular type of metaphor or allegory that needs to be considered intellectually if it is to be understood. As such, the phrase precisely identifies the *senectus mundi* topos as a 'figure of thought' rather than a 'figure of speech'. The earlier medieval tradition of rhetorical study, founded principally on Cicero's *De inventione* and on Donatus, lacked a systematic treatment of the figures of thought, and they are lacking entirely from Bede's *De schematibus et tropis.* It was in the second half of the eleventh century that the scope of rhetorical study was dramatically widened by the revival of interest in the *Ad Herennium,* then believed to be by Cicero, which includes a systematic treatment of the figures of thought, including *similitudo* (*Ad Herennium*, IV.59-61).[100] On the basis of the systematic treatment of the various figures in this work, there appeared a new wave of rhetorical handbooks – extending from philosophically-minded treatises to classroom lists – that included precise technical labels for various figures of thought.[101] Martin Camargo in an important study of these texts has assembled a list of such terms from eleventh-century and later handbooks, among them *contentio, similitudo, exemplum, imago, effictio, notatio, sermonicatio, significatio.*[102] It is possible that *intamlugud intliuchta* was coined as a calque on a term from a source of this kind; alternatively, it may be an attempt to render into Irish the very concept 'figure of

thought' itself, perhaps drawing ultimately on the terminology used by Donatus or Quintilian, mediated through an intermediate source that cannot now be identified.[103]

What this suggests is that the author of the passage was sufficiently aware of the theoretical underpinnings of his literary art to include a meta-literary comment classifying a figure according to the terminology of the very latest treatises on rhetoric. For parallel examples of this kind of self-referential commentary in the same period one might look, for example, to the works of contemporary scholar-authors such as the analyses of Vergil and Martianus Capella by Bernardus Silvestris (or 'pseudo-Bernardus') in the milieus associated with the so-called 'School of Chartres'.[104] In the *Cogadh*, perhaps the most remarkable aspect of this internal rhetorical commentary is that its precise and innovative analysis is being undertaken not in the closed world of the handbooks but as part of the shaping of an artistically developed narrative. The author has self-consciously incorporated the categories of contemporary rhetorical theory into the marshalling of his creative resources in elevated historiographical composition, in a manner analagous (if only typologically) to the adoption of the same rhetorical resources by the innovative Latin poets of the 'Loire school' from the late eleventh century onward.[105] That he does so in a vernacular rather than Latin-language composition is perhaps the most remarkable aspect of this development: the resources of the rhetorical handbooks are being deployed across languages and across genres to amplify the stylistic heights achievable in the context of what is ostensibly traditional Irish battle-writing (*cath*, *caithréim* and *cogadh*, defined earlier in this article).

THE IRISH EVIDENCE: SUMMARY

The evidence we have been considering from *Cogadh Gáedhel re Gallaibh* provides clear indication of an author engaging with contemporary rhetoric to develop for his own narrative purposes the universal theme of parallelism between the history of the world and

that of humankind. The same theme is employed by a contemporary author in the Irish account of the destruction of Troy, *Togail Troí*, and by a bilingual scholar glossing the Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*, as we have seen. In the case of the latter, his interest in systematising chronology has been noted, as well as the possibility that he could have derived his ideas from reading Bede, Isidore and other authorities in an insular context. The passage in the *Cogadh* demonstrates more clearly active, creative involvement in contemporary European learning. Moreover, it is likely that the approach taken by this author is typical of the mainstream intellectual culture of Europe in his own time. In support of this, we will now adduce three very different products of that culture from the same period: namely, the *Liber Floridus* of Lambert of St Omer and the Latin hymns of Peter Abelard from the first half of the twelfth century, and the typological stained-glass windows at Christ Church Canterbury from the end of that century. In so doing, we will return to the glossator of the Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi* and suggest that the string of words *sex aetates sunt mundi* he employs provides a possible clue to a shared dependence in Irish and European intellectual circles on the various traditions of one of the minor works of Isidore of Seville.

THE *LIBER FLORIDUS* OF LAMBERT OF ST OMER

In the later reception of the Augustinian schema of the parallelism between the ages of man and the world, it became closely associated with the parallelism between microcosm and macrocosm in the Neoplatonic revival of the so-called 'twelfth-century Renaissance'. For example, Honorius of Autun in the *De Mundi Imagine* sets the six ages of man and of the world alongside each other, and separately acknowledges the parallelism between macrocosm and microcosm.[106] There is a particularly revealing example in the remarkable historical and cosmographical encyclopaedia known as the *Liber Floridus*, compiled with many diagrams and illuminations by Lambert of St Omer in the years up to 1120.[107] There is strong codicological evidence that Lambert compiled directly from his sources onto the

pages of the surviving manuscript,[108] so we are in a unique position of seeing our themes being worked out in an ambitious work of historical and theological learning. Two pairs of items are relevant to our discussion. First there are two circular diagrams (*rotae*) of world history, each divided into the six ages.[109]

[INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE]

Figure 2 Liber Floridus, fol. 19v (image courtesy of Ghent University Library)

In the first diagram (fol. 19v), the sectors between the 'spokes' of the wheel each contain the names of the major historical persons of the Age, and beneath the wheel is a short text summarising world history up to the Seventh Age, marked here by the coming of Antichrist.

[INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE]

Figure 3 Liber Floridus, fol. 20v (image courtesy of Ghent University Library)

The second diagram (fol. 20v), has a more complex, flower-like structure based on interlocking semicircles, a pattern traditional in manuscripts of Bede and Isidore.[110] Again, each of the six areas of the diagram represents an age; but from the centre a human face looks out, and this diagram is followed by a text headed *Microcosmos, hoc est minor mundus* – *'Microcosmos*, that is the smaller world' – followed by the ages of man, in this case numbered seven.

[INSERT FIGURE 4 HERE]

Figure 4 MS Wolfenbüttel, Gudeanus lat. 1, fol. 31r (image courtesy of the Wolfenbüttel Digital Library)

A second pair of diagrams (lost but reconstructed from surviving early imitations) is more complex still.[111] Here the first *rota* has God the Creator at the centre, holding abstract representations of the parts of created time (day, night, years, months), while the concentric lines of text in each of the semicircles sets up the parallel between the day of creation, the age of the world, and the age of man. The second *rota* has an image of a child at the centre, surrounded by six spheres labelled as the four elements plus summer and winter, with the semi-circular pattern now labelled with the six ages of man with the corresponding numbers of years and characteristic behaviour of each age.[112] Despite the fact that Lambert comes across as 'a mediocre Latinist and a clumsy, even unreliable compiler',[113] the existence of as many as nine medieval copies of the entire work leaves no doubt that his work was taken seriously in its own age.[114] Likewise, later educational texts such as the celebrated Walters Cosmography (c. 1180 AD) include the scheme of *homo-mundus-annus* among many schemata and diagrammatic expositions of the structure of things.[115]

There is much here, of course, that has no parallel in the Irish material: most notably the technique of diagrammatic exposition finds no echo or equivalent in Irish book-production in the period, which is generally free of representative illustrations of any kind. However, it cannot be coincidental that the material on the ages of man and of the world in the *Liber Floridus* occupies exactly the same contextual position as it does in the Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*: it stands as prefatory material before a summary exposition of the history of the world since the Creation, arranged according to the scheme of six ages.[116]

THE *HYMNS FOR THE PARACLETE* OF ABELARD

In the 1130s, a little more than a decade after the production of the *Liber Floridus*, Peter Abelard composed a complex and innovative cycle of hymns for the Divine Office,

intended for Heloise and her sisters at the abbey known as the Paraclete.[117] Here if anywhere we are at the centre of spiritual and intellectual renewal in the period. The intellectual concerns of the collection invite interpretation on many levels,[118] but for our purposes the key point is that for the daytime hours the ferial hymns (i.e. those for the six ordinary weekdays marked by no special feast) are infused with imagery based on the multiple levels of the sixfold scheme: the six days of creation, the six ages of history, and the six ages of human life, articulated exactly according to the Augustinian scheme.[119] The opening quatrain sets the programme, at the morning office of Lauds for Tuesday:

Aetates temporum nostrique corporis
Divini numerus praesignat operis;
Dierum novimus in hoc senarium,
Et sex aetates sunt mundi vel hominum.[120]

'The number of the divine labour preordains the ages of the times and of our body: we have found in this the set of six days, and there are six ages of the world and of man.'

Abelard follows the familiar logic, articulating the ages through the periods of sacred history and justifying the parallels with the life of man through the traditional points of comparison:

Deleta prior est aetas diluvio
sic et infantiam delet oblivio;
in primo die lux narratur condita
et istam incohat lucem infantia.[121]

'The earlier age was destroyed by the deluge, just as forgetting destroys our infancy: it is told that light was made on the first day, and infancy is the beginning of light.'

So the familiar sequence unfolds up to Saturday: and the culminating hymn for Vespers on Sunday, *O quanta qualia*, restores to centrality Augustine's principle of the parallelism between Sunday rest, life after death, and the consummation of history in the eternal present that will follow the Last Judgment.[122] Thus the principle is reiterated that the Seventh Age, being outside and beyond the limitations of historical time, represents the consummation of the six finite and measurable ages: so that history, quantified and measurable, is subsumed into the infinite beyond.

Abelard's hymns provide an especially elegant demonstration of the intellectual structures within which the scheme of six ages was understood by early twelfth-century theologians and cosmologists. This, we propose, is the context in which the Irish materials surveyed earlier in this article should be situated. Beyond that general alignment, we will see later that a more specific point of contact may be posited in the minor works ascribed to Isidore of Seville. The case for the importance of this intertext will be made in light of further evidence from our next international parallel, an image in the stained glass programme of Canterbury Cathedral. It is to this we now turn.

THE TYPOLOGICAL WINDOWS IN CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY

In the period under study, the systematic exposition of theological and historical structures was reproduced in the iconographic programmes of the stained glass windows of many of the great cathedrals and monastic churches.[123] A case in point for our argument is found at Christ Church Canterbury, in the context of the exceptionally ambitious iconographic programme associated with the rebuilding of the cathedral in the decades following the fire

of 1174.[124] In the series of stained-glass windows known as the Typological Windows in the north-east transept,[125] there survives a depiction of the parallelism between the six ages of man and of the world in relation to the six water-jars at the wedding feast of Cana.[126] The panels in question are believed to have been designed around 1180, though the execution may have been completed rather later.[127]

[INSERT FIG. 5A HERE] [INSERT FIG. 5B HERE] [INSERT FIG. 5C HERE]

Figure 5 Fourth Typological Window, Christ Church, Canterbury: The 'Ages' images positioned around the Cana scene, following the reconstruction by Caviness (*Early Stained Glass*, 170). (Image supplied and used by kind permission of the Chapter of Canterbury]

The central round panel depicts the wedding at Cana, with the six water-jars prominently displayed. Mirroring each other on either side are two semi-circular panels, the ages of the world on Christ's right and the ages of man on his left. The former carries the inscription *SEX AETATES SVNT MUNDI*,[128] the same as in Abelard, as well as in the Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*, a point to which we return below. In addition it shows six figures from the genealogy of Christ (cf. Matthew 1: 1-18), each representing one of the ages: Adam, Noah, Abraham, David, Jechonias[129] and Christ himself. The corresponding panel on the right shows the ages of man, each represented by the appropriately-aged male figure and labelled *INFANTIA, PVERITIA, ADOLESCENTIA, IVVENTUS, VIRILITAS, SENECTVS*.[130] The longer inscriptions in the arch-shaped bands explain the symbolism: on the right it is stated that the conversion of water into wine symbolises salvation, and on the left that each wine-jar stands for one of the ages: *'[LIMPHA] DAT HISTORIAM, VINV[M] NOTAT ALLEGORIAM*', 'the water gives the story, the wine indicates the allegory'. As often with the inscriptions (*tituli*) identifying the figures in ecclesiastical art of this period,[131] there is a close textual correlate for these inscriptions: the remarkable work

Pictor in Carmine, probably written around 1200 by the English Cistercian Adam of Dore as a defence of complex iconography in ecclesiastical art.[132] This work includes the following account of the symbolism of Cana:

(xxxvi) Mutat Christus aquam in vinum.
Allegorica intelligentia de sex ydriis per sex etates seculi.
Tropologica intelligentia de sex ydriis per sex gradus etatis humane.

'(36) Christ changes the water into wine.
The allegorical understanding of the six water-jars [is] through the six ages of the world.
The tropological understanding of the six water-jars [is] through the six stages of the human age.'

The poem shows how the precise meta-language of Christian symbolism could be used to distinguish the different levels of correspondence: the parallel between the jars and the ages of the world is *allegorical*, just as in the Canterbury inscription, while that with the ages of man is *tropological*. These terms are as old as Pope Gregory the Great, and are commonplace throughout the western tradition of Biblical interpretation:[133] but the windows elegantly demonstrate their continuing relevance and power in the midst of the theological and artistic renewals of the late twelfth century.

The library resources of Canterbury in this period have been well studied, and it is agreed that they included a copy of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, the standard distillation of Biblical exegesis in northern Europe at this time.[134] Here among the entries on John's account of the Cana miracle we find the line, *sex hidriae, sex aetates, in vinum Christus*,[135] 'the six water jars [are] the six ages, [their transformation] into wine [is] Christ.'[136] Likewise, as Caviness has pointed

out,[137] there is much throughout the iconography of the windows that corresponds to material in the annotated additions to the Old English *Hexateuch* manuscript that is known to have been held at this time in the neighbouring abbey of St Augustine's, Canterbury. These include accounts of world chronology according to the scheme of the six ages of world and man derived from Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*, including the account of the Fifth and Sixth Ages cited above.[138] Additionally, there is no reason to exclude the possibility that direct engagement with Bede *and* Augustine inspired the designers of the iconographic programme directly: the vital point is that the window embodies a subtle and learned engagement with multiple layers of symbolism in Biblical exegesis, and that it is simultaneously intensely traditional and up-to-date as a document of late twelfth-century thought.[139]

The Isidorean *Liber de Numeris*: A Key Intertext?

The material presented so far suggests a range of scholar-authors, from Ireland to Paris and Canterbury, engaging in comparable ways with the inheritance of historical theology in terms of the parallel between the ages of man and of the world down through the twelfth century. It is unlikely, if not impossible, that any of our three texts are directly dependent on each other: the window is the latest of the three, outward influence from a Gaelic text is unlikely in this period, and there is no evidence that Abelard's hymns circulated beyond the monastery of the Paraclete before the late thirteenth century.[140] So far, this suggests simply that the authors of the three texts are articulating the same schema in parallel ways in different media. However, it may be possible to pin the transmission of these ideas more precisely on the influence of a specific text. The clue here is the verbal formulation *sex aetates sunt mundi*, with its 'marked' word order in which the verb comes between the noun and the genitive *mundi.* As noted above, the same word-order is found in Abelard's hymn – *sex aetates*

sunt mundi vel hominis – and likewise in the Rawlinson B502 version of *Sex Aetates Mundi*, where the heading is *SEX AETATES SUNT MUNDI*, and again in the inscription in the Canterbury window, likewise *sex aetates sunt mundi*, as we have seen above. This may be coincidental; but it is worth considering whether this verbal detail may be pointing towards shared use of the same textual source.

The key source in question may be one that circulated widely in the early Middle Ages but has since sunk into relative obscurity. This is the *Liber Numerorum*, included among the works of Isidore of Seville[141] and cited (with or without acknowledgement) by numerous medieval scholar-authors from Aldhelm of Malmesbury onward.[142] This work sets out the mathematical significance and theological symbolism of each number in turn, and begins its account of the number eighteen in the following way:

Duodevicesimus a senario per ternarium adimpletur, quia sex aetates sunt mundi, cuius senaria series tripertita ratione temporum distribuitur, id est, ante legem, sub lege, sub gratia …[143]

'The number eighteen is increased from six by triplication, since there are six ages of the world, whose sixfold sequence is distributed according to a threefold system of time, that is before the Law, under the Law, and under Grace ...'

In the main treatment of the number six, the elements of the scheme are laid out in full:

Sex enim diebus perfecit Deus omnia opera sua. Primo die condidit lucem, secundo firmamentum, tertio speciem maris et terrae, quarto sidera, quinto et pisces et volatilia, sexto hominem atque animantia. Sex etiam dies sunt quibus aetatibus mundus perficitur, quarum

prima est ab Adam usque ad Noe, secunda hinc usque ad Abraham, tertia usque ad David, quarta usque ad Transmigrationem, quinta usque ad adventum Christi, sexta, quae nunc aetas est, usque in finem mundi …Praeterea huius numeri perfectio et in aetatibus hominum, in rerum gradibus invenitur. Sex enim aetatibus cursus mortalium consummatur, hoc est, infantia, pueritia, adolescentia, iuventute, senectute, senio. [144]

'In six days God accomplished his works. On the first day he established light, on the second the high sky, on the third the appearance of sea and land, on the fourth the stars, on the fifth both fish and flying things, on the six man and animals. These are the six days, which are the ages by which the world is accomplished,[145] of which the first is from Adam up to Noah, the second from there up to Abraham, the third up to David, the fourth up to the Exile, the fifth up to the coming of Christ, the sixth (which is the present age) up to the end of the world … Furthermore, the perfection of this number is found both in the ages of men and in the stages of things. In six ages the course of mortal things is completed, that is infancy, boyhood, adolescence, youth, old age, extreme old age.'

Here are systematically tabulated the correspondences between the days of creation, the days of the human week, the ages of the world and the ages of man. This passage efficiently sums up the set of correspondences that informs Abelard's diurnal hymns, and it includes the essential concepts reflected in our Irish texts. Both Abelard and the Irish authors are plainly engaging directly with more extensive treatments, whether Bede or Augustine or both; the *Liber Numerorum* can be seen as a record of how such lore was summarised and assimilated didactically. Further correspondence with the Canterbury windows appears in the next part of the exposition, where pseudo-Isidore gives a list of Biblical episodes featuring the number six:

In Evangelio quoque sex hydrias plenas aquis Christus in vini saporem convertit.[146]

'In the Gospel also Christ converted six water-jars full of water into wine.'

It is thus possible that the designer of the window (or of the now lost predecessor on which it was based, presumably a wall-painting or manuscript illumination)[147] selected the iconographic scheme of six ages of man, six ages of the world and six water-jars at Cana with direct reference to the *Liber Numerorum* or a closely-related text, incorporating a sentence from it verbatim in the inscription. The same may well be true of Abelard and, by extension, of the author of the Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi* – each, apparently, using the Isidorean line *Sex aetates sunt mundi* as the tag from which the larger discourse was made to extend.

Irish and European Images and Intellectualism

This sense of the combination of traditional and up-to-date might equally be found in *Cogadh Gáedhel re Gallaibh*, considered as another document of twelfth-century thinking. There are evident thematic correspondences between the Irish narrative and the later Canterbury windows, as also between these sources and the other Irish document under consideration here, *Sex Aetates Mundi*, and the Latin poems of Peter Abelard. The basic shared concept is that the ages of man precisely mirror the ages of the world: the iconography of the window and the imagery of Abelard's hymns depends on that principle. However, more precise equations are articulated in the cases of the Third Age and the Sixth. As the author of *Cogadh Gáedhel re Gallaibh* develops the conceit of the correspondence between Hector and the Irish hero Murchad, he moves away from the strict chronological system into an overriding image of human decline: the Bedan image of the world's present *aetas decrepita* is developed into the more dramatic image of the world itself as an old man on the brink of death. In principle the correspondences so far gathered

could have been made at any time since Augustine; but there is a further correlation that shows that those responsible for the *Cogadh* and the Canterbury windows belonged broadly in the same twelfth-century thought-world. As discussed above, the Irish narrative includes a meta-textual comment on the simile image articulated, in which it is labelled *intamlugud intliuchta*, a heavy Latinate phrase translatable as 'comparison of meaning'. So stated, we have a close chime with the language of the text *Pictor in carmine*, to which we have drawn attention: there, the water-jars at Cana correspond to the ages of the world by *allegorica intelligentia*, and with the ages of man by *tropologica intelligentia*. The correspondence is not precise, as the Irish phrase refers to the correspondence *between* the two age systems – the linkage, as it were, from one side-panel of the window to the other, rather than between one of them and the central image of Cana. Nonetheless, the fact that such similar interpretative vocabulary is used in the two texts suggests strongly that an Irish learned author and an English Cistercian were thinking about the same themes in the same historical theology on the basis of similar handbooks of rhetorical theory.

The evidence presented in this article suggests that Lambert, Abelard, and the master responsible for the Canterbury window, as well as the Irish authors responsible for *Sex Aetates Mundi* in MS Rawlinson B502 and the composition of *Cogadh Gáedhel re Gallaibh,* were responding in complementary ways to a reading of the same corpus of systematic theology, framed in summary didactic texts but also developed through more direct reading of exegetical texts in the established tradition. Analysis of the *Cogadh* passages in particular shows that in this period Irish-language literary creativity, not merely the codification of systematic knowledge, was being informed by the same trends and influences that were shaping the intellectual lives of those who worked at such centres as Paris, Chartres, or Canterbury. The character of historical and theological learning in the twelfth century was truly international and included in its ambit Irish scholars of the time.

APPENDIX: THE AUGUSTINIAN SCHEME OF THE SIX AGES (BASED PRINCIPALLY ON *DE GENESI CONTRA MANICHAEOS*)

Number	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth
Day of creation	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Made on that day	Light	Sky (*firmamentum*) between upper and lower waters	Dry land, vegetation	Sun, Moon, stars	Living creatures in sea and air	Living creatures on earth; Man
Age of man	infancy (*infantia*)	childhood (*pueritia*)	adolescence (*adolescentia*)	early manhood (*juventus*)	maturity (*gravitas*)	old age (*senectus*)
Age of the world	From Adam to Deluge	From the Deluge to the confusion of languages at Babel and birth of Abraham	From Abraham to the beginning of the kingship of David	From the kingship of David to the time of the sins of the kings, punished by the Babylonian exile	From the Babylonian exile to the Incarnation	From the Incarnation and the teaching of the Gospel, to the end of the present world (*saeculum*) with the Second Coming

Parallels between day of creation and age of world	God made light, human race first benefited from light	The Ark was like the *firmamentum* of the sky, being placed between the upper and lower waters	As Earth was separated from waters, so the people of God were separated from the Gentiles, whose errors are like a sea of turmoil; the People of God thirst for God's commands as earth for rain	The Sun is like a king, the Moon like his people, the stars like his nobles	Movement of animals and sea creatures corresponds to wandering of the People of God; sea-creatures (*ceti*) are like dominant men who refused to serve; multiplication of living things corresponds to multiplication of the sins of the Jews	Making of man corresponds to Incarnation of Christ; as Man rules over the animals, so Christ over men's souls; feeding of animals with fodder corresponds to feeding of man by spiritual wisdom
Parallels between age of world and age of man	This Age was the 'infancy' of human race; the Deluge at its	The world was *not* destroyed by the Deluge, and one's memory of	The people of God multiplied, just a youth	Like David as king, youth is supreme (*regnat*),	Exile and decline and breaking of kingship correspond to	[Christian] mankind moves towards salvation, as man in old age

	end corresponds to the flood of forgetfulness by which one cannot remember one's own infancy	childhood is not lost; this Age of the World did *not* bring the origin of the people of God, just as boys cannot father children	can father children	'rules') all the ages of life	the decline of man towards old age	moves towards next life

[1] The authors are grateful to the Cathedral Studios at Canterbury Cathedral for supplying photographs of windows in the Cathedral; and to the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Ghent University Library, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for permission to use online images of manuscripts in their collections. Madeline Caviness and Christopher Parkinson generously helped in the search for stained-glass images.

[2] The problematic construct of the 'twelfth-century Renaissance', and the general question of the relationship between continuity and innovation in learned culture of the period, are beyond the scope of this article. For nuanced overviews see, for example, R. I. Moore, *The First European Revolution c. 970-1215* (Oxford, 2000), 112-26, and Christopher Wickham in his *Medieval Europe* (New Haven CT, 2016), rejecting the 'renaissance' model as a master narrative (2-4) while emphasising the institutionalisation of learned culture in the schools and proto-university communities in this period (162-4). A more traditional, but in practice comparable, assessment from the perspective of historical theology is offered by Kevin J. Madigan, *Medieval Christianity: A New History* (New Haven CT, 2015), 257-86.

[3] A brief comparison between the Irish narrative eulogy (in *Cogadh Gáedhel re Gallaibh*) and the historiographical scheme of the encyclopaedic compilation (the *Liber Floridus*), as well as the Canterbury windows, has been presented by Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, "'The Metaphorical Hector': the Literary Portrayal of Murchad mac Bríain," in *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative*, ed. Ralph O'Connor, Studies in Celtic History 34 (Cambridge UK, 2014), 140-61; see also Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, "The Hectors of Ireland and the Western World," in *Sacred Histories: A Festschrift for Máire Herbert*, ed. John Carey, Kevin Murray and Caitríona Ó Dochartaigh (Dublin, 2015), 258-68. The analysis presented here builds on that contribution and has been informed by our joint reading of the passage in the context of the other material discussed in the present article.

[4] The term 'Early Old Irish' is applied to the few texts from the seventh century, while 'Classical Old Irish' is used to describe the extant corpus from the eighth and ninth centuries. The best grammar remains Rudolf Thurneysen, *A Grammar of Old Irish: Revised and Enlarged Edition*, translated D. A. Binchy and Osborn Bergin (Dublin, 1946).

[5] See, for example, David Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought (Cambridge UK, 2007), especially 115-26.

[6] This material is discussed in more detail in a broad insular context by Máire Ní Mhaonaigh in the following publications: "Of Bede's 'Five Languages and Four Nations': the Earliest Writing from Ireland, Scotland and Wales," in *The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature*, ed. Clare A. Lees (Cambridge UK, 2013), 99-119, and "*Légend hÉrenn*: "The Learning of Ireland" in the Early Medieval Period," in *"Books Most Needful to Know": Contexts for the Study of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, Old English Newsletter, Subsidia 36 (Kalamazoo MI, 2016), 85-149.

[7] See Richard Sharpe, "Books from Ireland, Fifth to Ninth Centuries," *Peritia* 21 (2010): 1-55 and Donnchadh Ó Corráin, "What Happened Ireland's Medieval Manuscripts?,'" *Peritia* 22-3 (2011-12): 191-223.

[8] This Old Irish material in contemporary manuscripts has been collected in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan, eds., *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: A Collection of Old-Irish Glosses, Scholia, Prose and Verse*, 2 vols. (Cambridge UK, 1901-03).

[9] The earliest writing from medieval Ireland is discussed in Tomás Ó Cathasaigh, "The Literature of Medieval Ireland to c. 899: St Patrick to the Vikings," and Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, "The Literature of Medieval Ireland, 800-1200: from the Vikings to the Normans," in *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature, Volume 1: to 1890*, ed. Margaret Kelleher and Philip O'Leary (Cambridge UK, 2006), 9-31 and 32-73 respectively.

[10] For a discussion of these approaches with regard to the period down to c. 1000, see Elva Johnston, *Literacy and Identity in Early Medieval Ireland*, Studies in Celtic History 33 (Cambridge UK, 2013), especially 16-26.

[11] See Tomás Ó Cathasaigh, "Pagan Survivals: the Evidence of Early Irish Narrative," in *Irland und Europa, die Kirche im Frühmittelalter: Ireland and Europe, the Early Church*, ed. Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (Stuttgart, 1984), 291-307, reprinted in his *Coire Sois, the Cauldron of Knowledge: A Companion to Early Irish Saga*, ed. Matthieu Boyd (Notre Dame IN, 2014), 35-50.

[12] See Máire Herbert, "Crossing Historical and Literary Boundaries: Irish Written Culture around the Year 1000," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 53/54 (2007), 87-101. For a specific example of such contact at work, see Michael Clarke, "The *Leabhar Gabhála* and Carolingian Origin Legends," in *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe, Chronology, Contacts, Scholarship: A Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín*, ed. Pádraic Moran and Immo Warntjes, Studia Traditionis Theologiae, Explorations in Early and Medieval Theology 14 (Turnhout, 2015), 440-80.

[13] See Elizabeth Boyle and Deborah Hayden, "Introduction: Authority and Adaptation in Medieval Ireland," in their edited volume, *Authorities and Adaptations: The Reworking and Transmission of Textual Sources in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2014), xvii-xlvii.

[14] This is the view of medieval Irish literature expressed by Maria Tymoczko, "The Nature of Tradition and Cultural Memory: Evidence from Two Millennia of Irish Culture," in *Medieval Irish Perspectives on Cultural Memory*, ed. Jan Erik Rekdal and Erich Poppe, Studien und Texte zur Keltologie 11 (Münster, 2014), 15-60; for a similar interpretation, see also her earlier article, "Celtic Literature and the European Canon," in *Reading World Literature: Theory, History, Practice*, ed. Sarah Lawall (Austin TX, 2010), 160-76.

[15] Not least because of the presence of notable Irish figures such as Sedulius Scottus and John Scottus Eriugena at the Carolingian court. See further Sven Meeder, "Irish Scholars and Carolingian Learning," in *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion*, ed. Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (Basingstoke, 2016), 179-94.

[16] Examples include the case study discussed below, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh: The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or the Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and Other Norsemen*, ed. and trans. James Henthorn Todd, Rolls Series (London, 1867) (henceforth *Cogadh Gaedhel*), as well as *Caithréim Cellacháin Caisil: The Victorious Career of Cellachán of Cashel, or the Wars between the Irishmen and the Norsemen in the Middle of the 10th Century*, ed. and trans. Alexander Bugge (Oslo, 1905). Earlier texts with heroic battle-narrative tend to display these stylistic features much less prominently: see for example *Cath Maige Tuired*, ed. and trans. Elizabeth A. Gray, Irish Texts Society 52 (London and Dublin, 1982), and *Cath Almaine*, ed. Pádraig Ó Riain, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series 25 (Dublin, 1978); "The Battle of Allen," ed. and trans. Whitley Stokes, *Revue celtique*, 24 (1903): 41-77, 446. Nonetheless, the bombastic style is not exclusively confined to the later battle tales: for an overview of the style and its development, see Ní Mhaonaigh, "Literature of Medieval Ireland," 41-2.

[17] See, for example, Uáitéar Mac Gearailt, "Zur literarischen Sprache des 11. Jahrhunderts," in *Akten des zweiten deutschen Keltologen-Symposiums (Bonn, 2.-4. April 1997)*, ed. Stefan Zimmer, Rolf Ködderitzsch and Arndt Wigger (Tübingen, 1999), 105-20 (and articles by him cited below); Brent Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic in Medieval Ireland*,

Studies in Celtic History 30 (Cambridge UK, 2011).

[18] See Uáitéar Mac Gearailt, "Change and Innovation in Eleventh-century Prose Narrative in Irish," in *(Re)oralisierung*, ed. Hildegard L. C. Tristram, ScriptOralia 84 (Tübingen, 1984), 443-96, at 492.

[19] These Latin translations have also been linked to the writing of longer narratives in the first place, but they were but one factor in that development also: see Ralph O'Connor, "Was Classical Imitation necessary for the Writing of Large-scale Irish Sagas? Reflections on *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and the 'Watchman Device," in his edited volume, *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative*, Studies in Celtic History 34 (Cambridge UK, 2014), 165-95. Laura Ashe has studied the parallel effect of the influence of engagement with classical narrative on the development of literature in England: *Fiction and History in England 1066-1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 68 (Cambridge UK, 2007).

[20] See Uáitéar Mac Gearailt, "On Textual Correspondences in Early Irish Heroic Tales," in *Proceedings of the First North American Congress of Celtic Studies held at Ottawa from 26th to 30th March 1986*, ed. Gordon W. MacLennan (Ottawa, 1988), 343-55.

[21] "Change and Innovation," 492.

[22] Pádraig P. Ó Néill, "An Irishman at Chartes in the Twelfth Century: the Evidence of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F. III. 15," *Ériu,* 48 (1997): 1-35.

[23] MS Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 78.19, digitised at http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0000934741&keyworks=plut.78.19#page/1/mode/1up.

[24] Pádraig P. Ó Néill, "Boethius in Early Ireland: Five Centuries of Study in the Sciences," in *Music and the Stars: Mathematics in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Mary Kelly and Charles Doherty (Dublin, 2013), 21-43; and his "Irish Glosses in a Twelfth-century Copy of Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae*," *Ériu* 55 (2005): 1-17.

[25] See especially, Elizabeth Boyle, "Neoplatonic Thought in Medieval Ireland: the

Evidence of *Scéla na Esérgi*," *Medium Aevum* 78 (2010): 216-30; and her "Allegory, the *Áes Dána* and the Liberal Arts in Medieval Irish Literature," in *Grammatica, Gramadach and Gramadeg: Vernacular Grammar and Grammarians in Medieval Ireland Wales*, ed. Deborah Hayden and Paul Russell (Amsterdam, 2016), 11-34.

[26] Elizabeth Duncan, "*Lebor na hUidre* and a Copy of Boethius's *De re arithmetica*: a Palaeographical Note," *Ériu*, 62 (2012): 1-32.

[27] *Cogadh Gaedhel*, ed. and trans. Todd, 186-7 (§107).

[28] Henceforth *SAM*. The text has been edited twice: *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi*, ed. and trans. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Dublin, 1983), and Hildegard L. C. Tristram, *Sex Aetates Mundi: die Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen und den Iren, Untersuchungen und Texte* (Heidelberg, 1985).

[29] The theme of the 'ages of man' has been more closely studied that that of the 'ages of the world'; see, for example, Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton NJ, 1968); J. A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford, 1986); James M. Dean, *The World Grown Old in Later Medieval Literature*, Medieval Academy Books 101 (Cambridge MA, 1989). The importance of the theme for the passage in *Cogadh Gáedhel* is discussed in Ní Mhaonaigh, "Literary Portrayal," 144-5.

[30] See Carol Harrison, *Augustine: Christian Truth and Fractured Humanity*, Christian Theology in Context (Oxford, 2000), 204-6 with R. A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St Augustine*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge UK, 1988), especially 1-21. Augustine's scheme is discussed in Paul Archambault, "The Ages of Man and the Ages of the World: a Study of Two Traditions," *Revue d' Études Augustiniennes* 12 (1966): 193-228, especially 203-6. See also, James Palmer, "The Ordering of Time," in *Abendländische Apokalypthik: Kompendium zur Genealogie der Endzeit*, ed. Veronika Wieser, Chritian Zolles, Catherine Feik, Martin Zolles and Leopold Schlöndorf, Kulturgeschichte der Apokalypse 1 (Berlin, 2013), 605-18, at 610-11, 613.

[31] References to the Latin Fathers are to the *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* wherever a text has been published in that series; in all other cases we specify the edition used.

[32] In *De Diversis Quaestionibus LXXXIII* the same scheme reappears with the same acknowledgement that Sunday stands for the age of final fulfilment (*De Diversis Quaestionibus LXXXIII* 58.40-106).

[33] In the same way, the scheme of the ages of the world is cited in *De Trinitate* as an example of the significance of the number six (*De Trinitate* 4.4.2-20), without reference to the special meaning of the seventh and its eschatological meaning and without explicitly keying it to the ages of man.

[34] *Sermo* LXIII.8, *PL* 38, col. 504, cited by Herbert A. Deane, *The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine* (London and New York, 1966), 75.

[35] See Isidore, *De Natura Rerum*, edited and translated by Jacques Fontaine as *Traité de la nature* (Bordeaux, 1960; also reprinted Paris: Insitut d'études augustiniennes, 2002), 217, figure at *De Natura Rerum* XI.3; Bruce S. Eastwood, *Ordering the Heavens: Roman Astronomy and Cosmology in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Leiden, 2007), 373-426, with figure 6.18 from MS Besançon, BM 184, fol. 19v.

[36] On the reception of Bede's work as a principal conduit for the reception of learned traditions in the high middle ages see Charles W. Jones, "Bede's Place in Medieval Schools,", in *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Century of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. Gerald Bonner (London, 1976), 261-85. It may be significant here that Bede drew closely on earlier Irish sources in the matter of time-reckoning, and that the science of computus seems to have been regarded as a specialist area of Irish expertise. See Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, "The Irish Provenance of Bede's Computus," *Peritia* 2 (1983): 238-42, and Daniel McCarthy, "Bede's Primary Source for the Vulgate Chronology in his Chronicles in *De temporibus* and *De temporum ratione*," in *Computus and its Cultural Context in the Latin West*, ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and Immo Warntjes (Turnhout, 2010), 159-89.

[37] Bede's first essay in the *De Temporibus* (ch. 16) briefly acknowledges Augustine's sets of parallelisms, beginning with that between the Flood and the destruction of the memory of infancy (16.4-5). This was superseded by the more elaborate formulation in his *De Temporum Ratione* (ch. 66), which became by far the most influential tract on this subject in subsequent centuries.

[38] Bede, *De Temporum Ratione* 66.6-7.

[39] *Homeliarum Evangelii Libri II* 1.14

[40] *De Universo* ch.14, PL 111 col. 307A-C.

[41] Ch. 5, at *PL* 101, col. 1112B-1113A.

[42] For the background see J. E. Cross, "Aspects of Microcosm and Macrocosm in Old English Literature," *Comparative Literature* 14:1 (Winter 1962): 1-22.

[43] See, for example, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, "The Continuity of the Irish Computistical Tradition," in *Computus and its Cultural Context in the Latin West*, ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and Immo Warntjes (Turnhout, 2010), 324-47.

[44] See Elizabeth Boyle, "Biblical History in the Book of Ballymote", in *Book of Ballymote: Codices Hibernenses Eximii II*, ed. Ruairí Ó hUiginn (Dublin, forthcoming 2018), 51-75, as well as, for example, the poems edited by Peter J. Smith, *Three Historical Poems Ascribed to Gilla Cóemáin: A Critical Edition of the Work of an Eleventh-century Irish Scholar*, Studien und Texte zur Keltologie 18 (Münster, 2007).

[45] On Marianus Scottus and his Irish inheritance see C. P. E. Nothaft, "An Eleventh-Century Chronologer at Work: Marianus Scottus and the Quest for the Missing Twenty-Two Years," *Speculum* 88.2 (April 2013): 458-82, at 479-80; for an analysis of the Irish-language marginalia in the autograph manuscript of Marianus' *Chronicle* (MS Rome, Vatican Library, Palatinus 830) see Brian Ó Cuív, "The Irish Marginalia in the Codex Palatino-Vaticanus 830," *Éigse* 24 (1990): 45-67, and Michael Clarke, "Merger and Contrast between Latin and Medieval Irish," in *Codeswitching in Medieval Irish and English*, ed.

Mícheál Ó Flaithearta (Bremen, 2018), 1-32.

[46] See Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, "The Peripheral Centre: Writing History on the Western 'Fringe'," *Interfaces: A Journal of Medieval European Literatures* 4 (2017): 59-84 (available on open access at https://riviste.unimi.it/interfaces/article/view/9469).

[47] The authoritative account of Rawlinson B502 is that by Brian Ó Cuív, *A Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and Oxford College Libraries*, 2 vols. (Dublin, 2001), I, 163-201, II, plates 15-21. There is a short description of the manuscript in Timothy O'Neill, *The Irish Hand: Scribes and their Manuscripts from the Earliest Times to the Seventeenth Century with an Exemplar of Scripts* (Portlaoise, 1985), 28-9; see also Caoimhín Breatnach, "Rawlinson B502," in *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Seán Duffy (New York and London, 2005), pp. 398-400. The catalogue description and manuscript images can be viewed at http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msrawlb502.

[48] The work describes itself as a translation (*tintúd*) from Jerome (*SAM*, ed. Ó Cróinín, 64, §1), but this probably masks a much more complex process of translation, expansion and innovation on the basis of a (now lost) Latin original.

[49] On the dating of *Sex Aetates Mundi*, see *SAM*, ed. Ó Cróinín, 41-8. The authoritative survey treatments are *SAM*, ed. Ó Cróinín, 1-50, and Tristram, *SAM*, 99-119; for further references see Michael Clarke, "The Lore of the Monstrous Races in the Developing Text of the Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 63 (2012): 15-50, and most recently, Patrick Wadden, "*Prímchenéla* and *Fochenéla* in the Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*," *Ériu* 66 (2016): 167-78.

[50] The definitive study remains Françoise Henry and G.L. Marsh-Micheli, "A Century of Irish Illumination (1070-1170)," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, 62 (1961-63): 101-66.

[51] We cite from *SAM*, ed. Ó Cróinín, 66 and 110, § 4a. For this item he supplies the

heading *Sex sunt aetates hominis*, but this wording is guesswork.

[52] *SAM*, ed. Ó Cróinín, 140.

[53] There is a further additional item on fol. 43r, in the upper margin (*SAM*, ed. Ó Cróinín, 86, §49, section in angle brackets), but this is of a different kind. Here a section was evidently found to have been lost or omitted in the scribe's first campaign, and the symbol *D÷* (for *deest*, 'It is lacking') appears in the right margin, indicating that this is the correct location for the chunk of text that has been inserted in the upper margin. See *SAM*, ed. Ó Cróinín, 161, note at 49.6-15.

[54] See Ó Cróinín's apparatus in each case, with his discussion *SAM*, 12-15.

[55] *SAM*, ed. Ó Cróinín, 69 (§11), section printed in angle brackets.

[56] *SAM*, ed. Ó Cróinín, 96 and 131 (§67).

[57] *SAM*, ed. Ó Cróinín 96 (§67), section printed in angle brackets. Sarophanes, whose name also occurs in a Middle Irish poem of similar date (see Ó Cróinín's note, *SAM*, 175) has not been identified.

[58] The term *fer léginn* (literally 'man of learning') is used to describe Dublittir ua hUathgaile who is associated with the Rawlinson B 502 copy of the text, as noted above. For a discussion of the term, see Johnston, *Literacy and Identity*, 108-9, 124-8.

[59] *Cogadh Gaedhel*, ed. and trans. Todd. On the date of composition, see Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, "*Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib*: Some Dating Considerations," *Peritia* 9 (1995): 354-77. There are three manuscript copies, of which the earliest in the twelfth-century Book of Leinster, is fragmentary and stops well short of the section in which our passage would have occurred. We draw, therefore, on the two further witnesses: the fourteenth-century manuscript, Dublin, Trinity College Dublin, 1319=H.2.17 (referred to hereafter as H), and the seventeenth-century manuscript in the hand of the Franciscan scholar Míchéal Ó Cléirigh, MS Brussels, Bibliothèque Nationale, 2569-2572, fols. 103-35 (hereafter B). In general, these two witnesses are closer to one another than either is to the copy in the

Book of Leinster, to judge from the first one-seventh or so of the text that is found in all three manuscripts. For a diplomatic edition of the fragment in the Book of Leinster, see Richard Irvine Best, Osborn Bergin, M. A. O'Brien and Anne O'Sullivan, eds., *The Book of Leinster, formerly Lebor na Núachongbála*, 6 vols (Dublin, 1954-83), V, 1319-25.

[60] *Cogadh Gaedhel*, ed. and trans. Todd, 186-9 (§107).

[61] *Cogadh Gaedhel*, ed. and trans. Todd, 186-7 (§107).

[62] *Is ē coiscēim dēdenach ruc in fīrgaisced in Ērinn é*; see *Cogadh Gaedhel*, ed. and trans. Todd, 186-7 (§107).

[63] See further on this theme Ní Mhaonaigh, "Hectors of Ireland".

[64] The chronology of heroes in this passage is discussed by Ní Mhaonaigh, "Literary Portrayal," 142-55.

[65] See further R. W. Burgess and Michael Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time: The Latin Chronicle Traditions from the First Century BC to the Sixth Century AD, Volume 1: A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre from its Origins to the High Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2013), 189-268.

[66] See, for example, "The Annals of Tigernach I: the Fragment in Rawlinson B. 502," ed. and trans. Whitley Stokes, *Revue celtique* 16 (1895): 374-419. See further Peter Smith, "Early Irish Historical Verse: the Evolution of a Genre," in *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission/ Irland und Europa im früheren Mittelalter: Texte und Überlieferung*, ed. Proinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (Dublin, 2002), 326-41.

[67] "The Annals of Tigernach I," ed. and trans. Stokes, 410; his son, Iriél Glúnmar, allegedly ruled during the time of the Emperor Tiberius: "The Annals of Tigernach I," ed. and trans. Stokes, 411 and "The Annals in Cotton MS. Titus A. XXV," ed. and trans. Martin A. Freeman, *Revue celtique*, 41 (1924), 301-30, at 314. See Ní Mhaonaigh, "Literary Portrayal," 146, and John V. Kelleher, "The *Táin* and the Annals," *Ériu* 22 (1971): 107-27.

[68] "The Annals of Tigernach – Second Fragment, A.D. 143 – A.D. 361," ed. and trans. Whitley Stokes, *Revue celtique*, 17 (1896): 6-33, at 11-12; see also "The Dublin Fragment of

Tigernach's Annals," ed. and trans. Whitley Stokes, *Revue celtique*, 38 (1897): 374-91, at 378 (= *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131), Part I: Text and Translation*, ed. and trans. Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1983), 12-13) and Ní Mhaonaigh, "Literary Portrayal," 147.

[69] *Duanaire Finn: The Book of the Lays of Fionn*, ed. and trans. Eoin Mac Neill and Gerard Murphy, 3 vols., Irish Texts Society 7, 28 and 43 (London and Dublin, 1905-53), I, 27; see Ní Mhaonaigh, "Literary Portrayal," 148.

[70] See, for example, Joseph Falaky Nagy, *The Wisdom of the Outlaw: The Boyhood Deeds of Finn in Gaelic Narrative Tradition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles CA, 1985), 41-2.

[71] *Cath Maige Tuired*, ed. and trans. Gray.

[72] On Túatha Dé Danann and Fomoiri see most recently Mark A. Williams, *Ireland's Immortals: A History of the Gods of Irish Myth* (Princeton NJ, 2016), especially 30-71.

[73] *Cath Maige Tuired*, ed. and trans. Gray, 40-1 (§69) and *Three Historical Poems*, ed. and trans. Smith, 186-7 (stanza 17); see Ní Mhaonaigh, "Literary Portrayal," 146-7. On the correlation between the Trojan War and Irish pseudohistory see also Michael Clarke, "The Extended Prologue of *Togail Troí*: From Adam to the Wars of Troy," *Ériu* 64 (2014): 23-106, at 90-4.

[74] This is uncontroversial in medieval historiography: see for example Bede *De Temporum Ratione*, 16.66-8.

[75] For this passage see also *Cogadh Gaedhel*, ed. and trans. Todd, 186-7. The text that we display here is that of the fourteenth-century manuscript H; as discussed below, the seventeenth-century manuscript B gives only the first sentence, i.e. down to *in domain* 'of the world'.

[76] For an introduction to *Togail Troí* and its three main recensions see most recently Michael Clarke, "*Togail Troí*/Destruction of Troy," in Siân Echard and Robert Rouse, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature in Britain* (Oxford, 2017).

[77] Leslie Diane Myrick, *From the* De Excidio Troiae Historia *to the* Togail Troí*: Literary-Cultural Synthesis in a Medieval Irish Adaptation of Dares' Troy Tale*, Anglistische Forschungen 223 (Heidelberg, 1993), at 126-7. See also Ní Mhaonaigh, "Literary Portrayal," 145.

[78] "The Destruction of Troy, aus H.2.17," ed. and trans. Whitley Stokes, in *Irische Texte mit Übersetzungen und Wörterbuch*, ed. Whitley Stokes and Ernst Windisch, 5 vols. in 7 (Leipzig, 1880-1909), II, Part I, 1-142, at 27, 93 (lines 828-9).

[79] "The Destruction of Troy," ed. and trans. Stokes, 27-8, 93 (lines 830-1); cf. Best, Bergin, O'Brien, O'Sullivan, *Book of Leinster*, IV, 1098 (lines 32159-64).

[80] See, for example, Miles, *Heroic Saga*, 142-3 and Ní Mhaonaigh, "Literary Portrayal," 158-60.

[81] *Cogadh Gaedhel*, ed. and trans. Todd, 186-9 (§107); the text displayed here is that of H, with significant variants in B noted individually.

[82] The laudatory adjective pertaining to Ireland and the reference to *cretem* ('religion, faith') is not in MS B.

[83] *im sochur … cheneōil* is omitted in MS B.

[84] MS B employs a synonym, reading *ro dilaithrig*.

[85] *cliath ugra* is omitted in MS B.

[86] See e.g. Bede *De Temporum Ratione* 66.58, 66.71.

[87] Note that in *Sex Aetates Mundi* the Fomoiri are included among the monstrous races descended from Cham son of Noah; see Clarke, "Lore of Monstrous Races".

[88] See John Carey, "Myth and Mythography in *Cath Maige Tuired*," *Studia Celtica* 24/25 (1989/90): 53-69.

[89] MS Dublin, TCD H. 2.17 (see note 59 above).

[90] B simply sets out the list of heroes with the comment 'those were the measurements of heroism from the beginning of the world and that there was no pre-eminent heroism before Hector': *ocus gomadh iad sin uidheadha an gaiscidh ō thús domain ocus conā beith an*

prímhgaiscedh roimh Echtair. Note that elsewhere in B there are many additional materials, including poems dated later than the *Cogadh* proper: see Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, "Poetic Authority in Middle Irish Narrative: a Case Study," in *Authorities and Adaptations: the Reworking of Textual Sources in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Elizabeth Boyle and Deborah Hayden (Dublin, 2014), 263-91.

[91] See Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, "Bréifne Bias in *Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib*," *Ériu* 43 (1992): 135-58.

[92] See David Greene, "Varia II: 1. The Middle Irish Preterite Passive Plural Ending *-(a)it*," *Ériu* 27 (1976): 123-6.

[93] "The Annals of Tigernach I," ed. and trans. Stokes, 406. The introducing phrase *Beda boat* 'Bede declares' suggests that the quotation from Bede here may be transmitted from the work of the scholar-author Cuanu, possibly one of the individuals of that name known from the eighth or ninth century: see F. J. Byrne, '*Ut Beda boat*: Cuanu's Signature?', in *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission/ Irland und Europa im früheren Mittelalter: Texte und Überlieferung*, ed. Proinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (Dublin, 2002), 45-67, with the note at 67 n. 48.

[94] The adjective *intamlaigthech* is derived from *intamlugud*, 'comparison, likeness', the verbal noun from the verb *in-samlathar* 'imitates, likens' (see www.dil.ie, *s.v.* in(n)tamlaigthech; dil.ie/28928).

[95] See, for example, Pádraic Moran, "Language Interaction in the St Gall Priscian Glosses," *Peritia* 26 (2015): 113-142 and Erich Poppe, "*Caide máthair bréithre* 'What is the Mother of a Word': Thinking about Words in Medieval Ireland," in *Grammatica, Gramadach and Gramadeg: Vernacular Grammar and Grammarians in Medieval Ireland and Wales*, ed. Deborah Hayden and Paul Russell (Amsterdam, 2016), 65-83; Pierre-Yves Lambert, "The Expression of "Sense, Meaning, Signification" in the Old Irish Glosses, and particularly in the Milan and Saint-Gall Glosses," in *Grammatica, Gramadach and Gramadeg: Vernacular*

Grammar and Grammarians in Medieval Ireland and Wales, ed. Deborah Hayden and Paul Russell (Amsterdam, 2016), 85-100.

[96] In the Old Irish glosses, *cosmulius delbe* is used to gloss *in similitudinem imaginis* (Wb 1 b 19): Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, I, 500.

[97] *toimtiu togaítech* 'false opinion' was used to gloss *falsas similitudines* (Ml 14 a 5): Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, I, 10; see www.dil.ie *s.v. toimtiu*, dil.ie/41229.

[98] Ml 51 d 5 (as 'simile'); Ml 37 c 1 (glossing *emulatione*): Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, I, 162 and 96 respectively. *Intamail* formed the basis of the denominative verb *intamlaigidir*, of which *intamlugud* later functioned as verbal noun. See www.dil.ie *s.v. intamail*, dil.ie/28925, *s.v. in-samlathar*, dil.ie/28883 and *s.v. in(n)taml[s]amlugud*, dil.ie/28928.

[99] Lambert, "The Expression of "Sense"," 92, citing especially Ml 44 b 10-11, 94 d 4, 68 b 7.

[100] On the ancient definition of this figure of thought see Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study*, English edition translated by Matthew T. Bliss, Annemiek Jansen and David E. Orton (Leiden, 1998), 377-80.

[101] Martin Camargo, "Latin Composition Textbooks and *Ad Herennium* Glossing: the Missing Link?," in *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, ed. Virginia Cox and John O. Ward (Leiden and Boston, 2006), 267-88, at 268-9.

[102] Camargo, "Textbooks," 283.

[103] For 'figures of speech' and 'figures of thought' Donatus uses the Greek terms *schemata lexeos ... et dianoeas*, translating them as *figurae verborum et sensuum* (*Ars maior*, III.5, at Heinrich Keil, *Grammatici Latini IV* (Leipzig, 1864), 397); similarly Quintilian has *figurae verborum* and *figurae sententiae* (*Institutio Oratoria* IX.1). We are grateful to Pádraic Moran for help with this point.

[104] See Douglas Kelly, *The Conspiracy of Allusion: Description, Rewriting and Authorship from Macrobius to Medieval Romance* (Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 1999), 87-97.

[105] See for example Monika Otter, "Baudri of Bourgueil, 'To Countess Adela'," *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 11 (2001): 61-142, and her, "Renaissances and Revivals," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature*, ed. Ralph Hexter and David Townsend (Oxford, 2012), 535-52.

[106] *DMI* II. 75, *PL* 172 col. 156 C-D; *DMI* II.59, PL 172 col. 154 C-D. Cf. Hans-Werner Goetz, "The Concept of Time in the Historiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, Patrick J. Geary (Cambridge UK, 2002), 139-65, at 141-2.

[107] MS Ghent, University Library 92: digital facsimile, https://lib.ugent.be/viewer/archive.ugent.be:018970A2-B1E8-11DF-A2E0-A70579F64438#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&r=0&xywh=-1711%2C-517%2C15419%2C10311. The printed edition (Albert Derolez, ed., *Lamberti S. Audomari canonici Liber Floridus* (Ghent, 1968), available online at https://lib.ugent.be/catalog/rug01:000066991), should be used alongside the survey of the contents and the recent scholarship by Albert Derolez, *The Making and Meaning of the Liber Floridus* (Turnhout, 2015). On the development of the technique of diagrammatic exposition in manuscripts of this period see further Laura Cleaver, *Education in Twelfth-Century Art and Architecture: Images of Learning in Europe, c.1100-1220* (Woodbridge, 2013), especially 130-97.

[108] Derolez, *Making and Meaning*, 35-9.

[109] For analysis of these diagrams see Derolez, *Making and Meaning*, 57-8.

[110] See, for example, Isidore *De Natura Rerum* in Fontaine's edition referenced above (n. 35), facing p. 216.

[111] Although in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript the details *within* each diagram are copied faithfully from the *Liber Floridus*, Derolez notes that Lambert would have given a full page to each diagram (Derolez, *Making and Meaning*, 75, 219).

[112] In a later section Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the statue with feet of clay is interpreted diagramatically as the six ages of the world (fol. 232v, Derolez, *Lamberti S. Audomari*, and his *Making and Meaning*, 155-6). Irish parallels for this schema will be examined in a forthcoming chapter by Elizabeth Boyle in *Book of Uí Mhaine: Codices Hibernenses Eximii III*, ed. Elizabeth Boyle and Ruairí Ó hUiginn (Dublin, forthcoming 2019).

[113] Derolez, *Making and Meaning*, 183.

[114] Derolez, *Making and Meaning*, 192-4 surveys the manuscript copies of the *Liber Floridus*.

[115] MS Baltimore, Walters Library 73, fol. 7v. The Walters Cosmography, a late twelfth-century compilation with complex diagrams, is based on materials from Bede and Isidore but reflects the codification and systematisation of knowledge in the twelfth century. The classic study by Harry Bober, "An Illustrated Medieval School-book of Bede's *De Natura Rerum*," *Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 19-20 (1956-7): 64-97, arguably over-emphasises its conservative character: for a corrective study with a sharper sense of the twelfth-century context, see Laura Cleaver, ""On the Nature of Things": the Content and Purpose of Walters MS W.73 and Treatises on Natural Philosophy in the Twelfth Century," *Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 68-9 (2010-11): 21-30.

[116] Derolez, *Making and Meaning*, 55-60 summarises the sections.

[117] The text is cited from *Peter Abelard's Hymnarius Paraclitensis*, ed. Joseph Szövérffy, 2 vols. (Albany NY, 1975); see also Peter Abelard, *Hymn Collections from the Paraclete*, ed. Chrysogonus Waddell (Trappist KY, 1987).

[118] On the didactic strategies of the hymns, see most recently William Flynn, "Abelard and Rhetoric: Widows and Virgins at the Paraclete," in *Rethinking Abelard: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Babette S. Hellmann, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 229 (Leiden, 2014), 155-86.

[119] *Hymnarius*, ed. Szövérffy 2.36-78 (text); 1.59-63, 1.94-100 (interpretation).

[120] *Hymnarius*, ed. Szövérffy, 2.58 (§18.1).

[121] *Hymnarius*, ed. Szövérffy, 2.59 (§18.4).

[122] On the theological background, see also Sergio Paolo Bonanni, *Parlare della Trinita: Lettura della* Theologia Scholarium *di Abelardo* (Rome, 1996), 36-7.

[123] On the intellectual underpinnings of stained-glass iconography in this period see Conrad Rudolph, "Inventing the Exegetical Stained-glass Window: Suger, Hugh and a New Elite Art," *The Art Bulletin* 93:4 (December 2011): 399-422

[124] On the rebuilding programme see Peter Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity* (New Haven CT and London, 2006), 13-34.

[125] The fundamental studies are Madeline H. Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral, circa 1175-1220* (Princeton NJ, 1977) and her *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury* (London and Oxford, 1981). On the iconography of the Canterbury windows in relation to contemporary manuscript culture and theological discourse see also Madeline H. Caviness, "The Visual and Cognitive Impact of the Ancestors of Christ Windows in Canterbury Cathedral and Elsewhere," in *The Ancestors of Christ Windows at Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. Jeffrey Weaver and Madeline H. Caviness (Los Angeles CA, 2013), 69-97, as well as Rudolph, "Inventing".

[126] In modern times the panels were reinserted in different positions, obscuring the original iconographic relationships: we follow Caviness's authoritative reconstructions of the original positioning (*Early Stained Glass*, 170; cf. *Windows of Christ Church Cathedral*, 106-13)

[127] Caviness, *Windows of Christ Church Cathedral*, 106.

[128] The word SVNT is hard to make out in the present state of the window but is confidently restored by Caviness, and it has hard to think of any other word that might fill the gap. However, the fourteenth-century written transcription gives simply *Sex aetates mundi*: Montague Rhodes James, *The Verses Formerly Inscribed on Twelve Windows in the Choir of Canterbury Cathedral* (Cambridge UK 1901), 16.

[129] Jechonias represents the beginning of the Fifth Age, as he was born during the movement into the Babylonian exile (Matthew 1: 11).

[130] Caviness, *Windows of Christ Church Cathedral*, 110.

[131] Cf. in general Neil Stratford, "Verse *Tituli* and Romanesque Art," in *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Colm Hourihane (Princeton NJ, 2008), 136-52.

[132] "Pictor in Carmine," ed. Montague Rhodes James, *Archaeologia*, 94 (1951), 142-66; for a brief modern account see Arthur George Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066-1442* (Cambridge UK, 1992), 129-31. We return to this poem in connection with *Cogadh Gáedhel re Gallaibh* below.

[133] See Frans van Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible* (Cambridge UK, 2014), 110-40.

[134] See Caviness, *Windows of Christ Church Cathedral*, 110, and her earlier work, *Early Stained Glass*, 111-12.

[135] *PL* 114, col. 905.

[136] See further Lesley Smith, *The* Glossa Ordinaria*: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden and Boston, 2009), 164-5.

[137] Caviness, "Visual and Cognitive Impact," 71.

[138] See Alger Nicolaus Doane and William P. Stoneman, *Purloined Letters: The Twelfth-century Reception of the Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Hexateuch (British Library, Cotton Claudius C. iv)* (Tempe AZ, 2011), especially 183-4.

[139] See in general Caviness, "Visual and Cognitive Impact," and her *Early Stained Glass*, 101-6; for suggestions concerning possible earlier English sources, see Richard W. Pfaff, "Some Anglo-Saxon Sources for the Theological Windows at Canterbury Cathedral," *Mediaevalia*, 10 (1984), 49-62.

[140] *Hymnarius*, ed. Szövérffy, 1.9-20.

[141] Isidorus Hispalensis, *Le Livre des Nombres – Liber Numerorum*, ed. and trans. Jean-Yves Guillaumin (Paris, 2005), replacing the earlier edition by Arevalo, *PL* 83, cols. 179-200.

The *Liber Numerorum* has often, unfortunately, been confused with pseudo-Isidorean *Liber de Numeris*, almost certainly of Hiberno-Latin origin, which was published elsewhere in the same volume of *PL* (*PL* 83, col. 1293-1302); on the confusion see *Le Livre*, ed. Guillaumin, xi-xiv. The Hiberno-Latin *Liber de Numeris* sets up the parallel between God's *opus sex dierum* and the six ages of the world (see Robert E. McNally, *Der irische* Liber de numeris. *Eine Quellenanalyse des pseudo-isidorischen* Liber de numeris (Munich, 1957), 100-6), but otherwise offers few resonances with the issues discussed in this article.

[142] *Le Livre*, ed. Guillaumin, xiv-xvii.

[143] Isidore, *Liber Numerorum* §85, *Le Livre*, ed. Guillaumin, 90-1.

[144] Isidore, *Liber Numerorum* §§29-31, *Le Livre*, ed. Guillaumin, 36-9.

[145] Our translation of the difficult wording here is modelled on that of Guillaumin.

[146] Isidore, *Liber Numerorum* §33, *Le Livre*, ed. Guillaumin, 40-1.

[147] For these possibilities for the iconographic scheme of the Canterbury windows overall see Caviness, *Early Stained Glass*, especially 106, 107-38 and her "Visual and Cognitive Impact"; see also Jeffrey Weaver, "The Ancestors of Christ Windows: Context, Program, Development,'" in *The Ancestors of Christ Windows at Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. Jeffrey Weaver and Madeline H. Caviness (Los Angeles CA, 2013), 11-48.

CAPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS (TO BE PLACED AS INDICATED IN THE MAIN TEXT ABOVE]

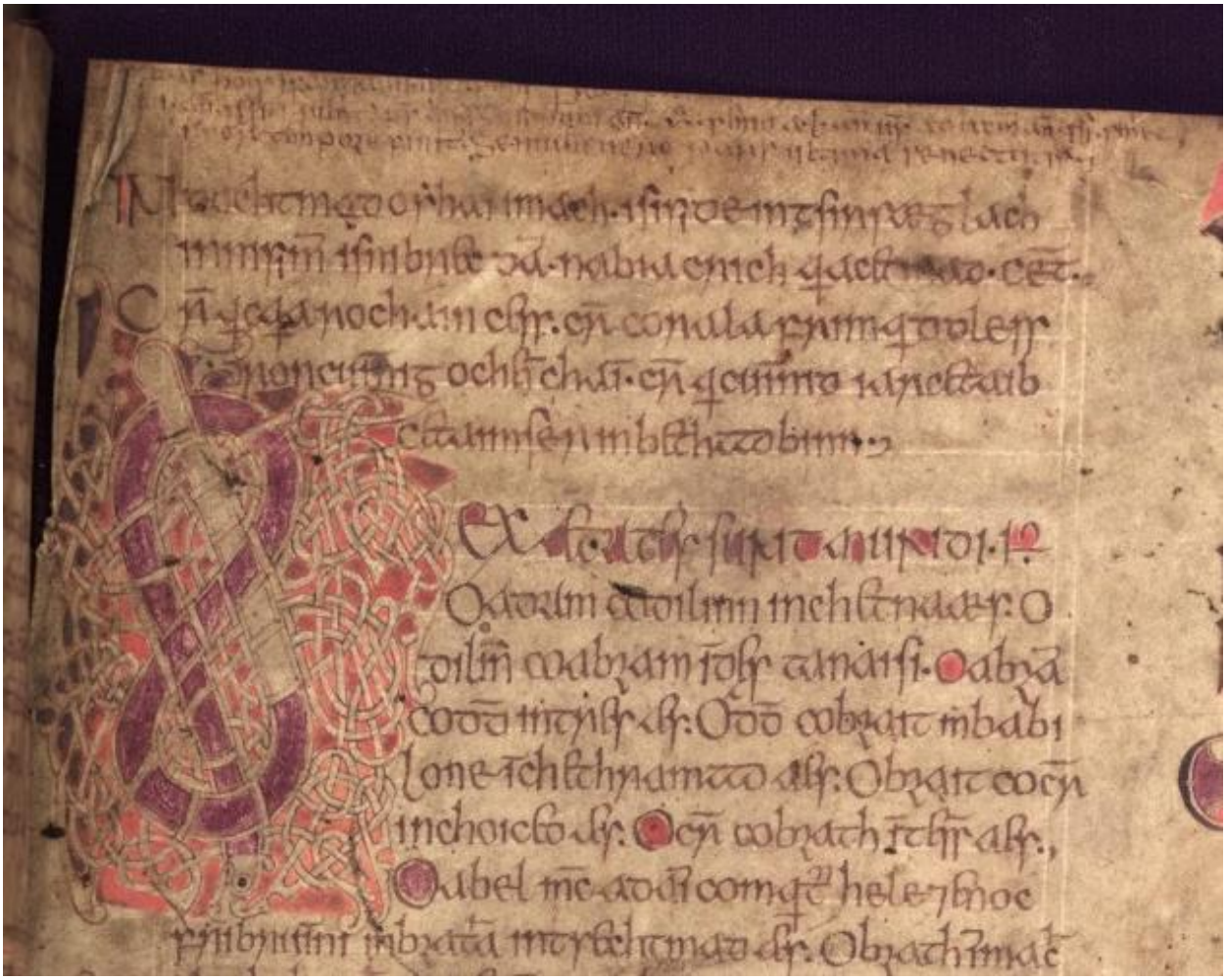

Figure 1 MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B502, fol. 41 r (a), detail

Figure 2 Liber Floridus, fol. 19v (image courtesy of Ghent University Library)

Figure 3 Liber Floridus, fol. 20v (image courtesy of Ghent University Library)

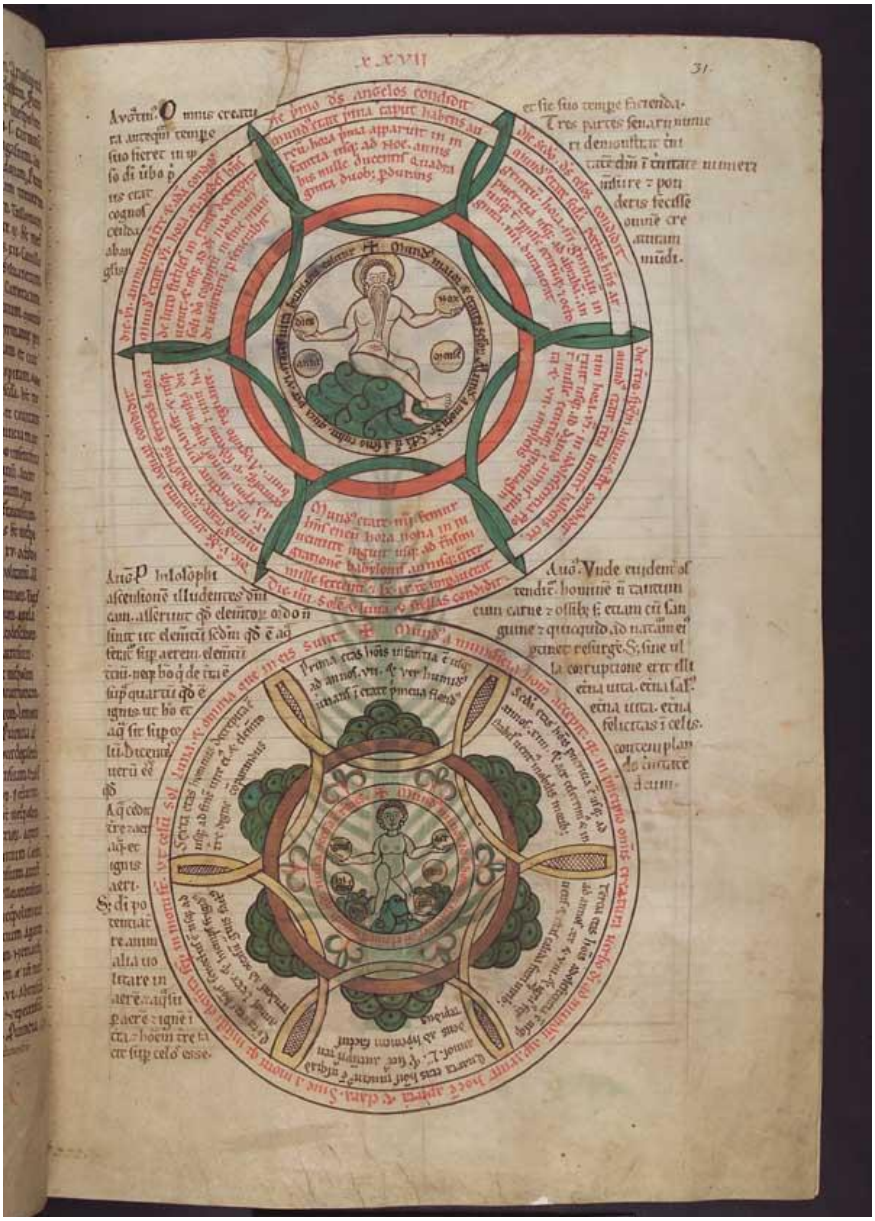

Figure 4 MS Wolfenbüttel, Gudeanus lat. 1, fol. 31r (image courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel)

Figure 5 Fourth Typological Window, Christ Church, Canterbury: the 'Ages' images positioned around the Cana scene, following the reconstruction by Caviness (*Early Stained Glass*, 170). (Image supplied and used by kind permission of the Chapter of Canterbury)